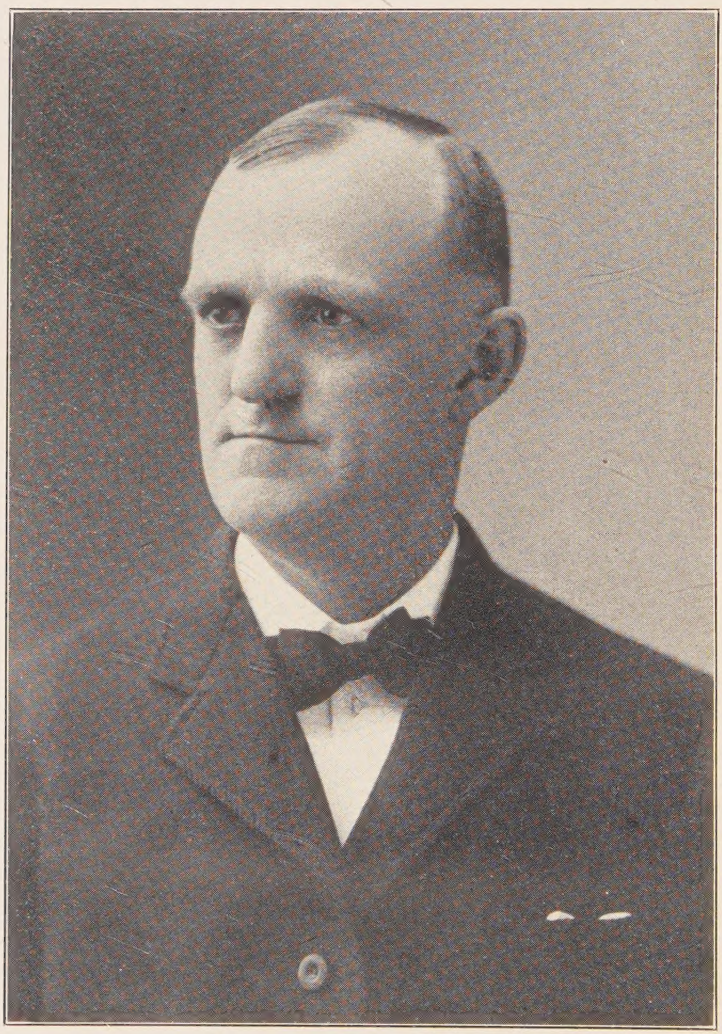
The Commoner

CONDENSED

William J. Bryan



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Condensed

BY

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

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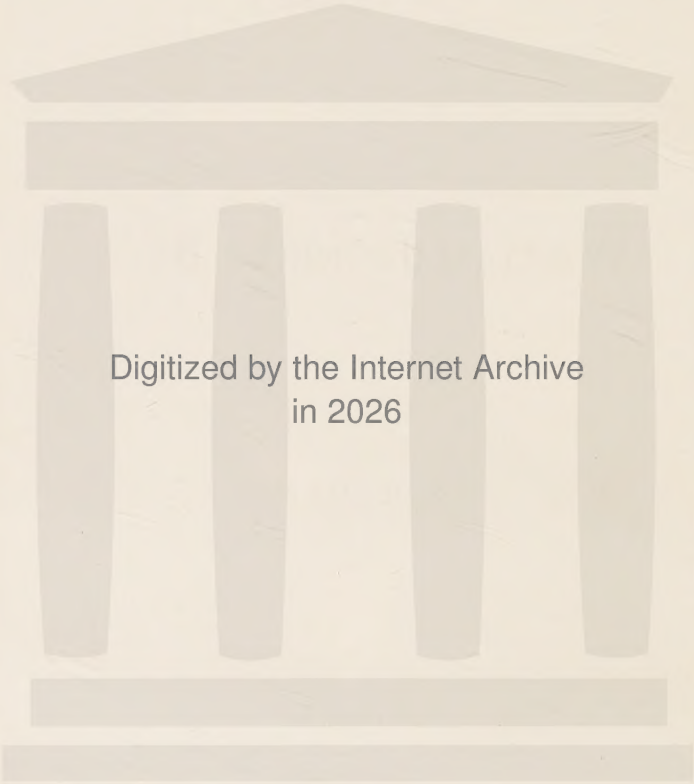
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The Commoner Condensed

THE COMMONER

In this issue THE COMMONER enters upon its fifth year. In its initial number THE COMMONER said that it would be satisfied if by fidelity to the common people it proved its right to the name which has been chosen. It is not for THE COMMONER to say whether this right has been established. Yet it will not be denied the privilege of saying that if mistakes have been made they were mistakes of the head rather than of the heart, and that the efforts of THE COMMONER have been to hew close to the line of what its editor believes to be in the public interests and to faithfully champion those principles which give the highest promise of providing "the greatest good to the greatest number."

The increasing number of subscribers and the cheerfulness with which men in all sections of the country give their aid to the effort to widen THE COMMONER'S sphere of influence, provides reason for believing that the great work to which THE COMMONER has been dedicated is appreciated at least by those who sympathize with the principles advocated by THE COMMONER.

In the future, as in the past, THE COMMONER will exert itself in behalf or democratic principles to the end "that this nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

CONSCIENCELESS FINANCE

Mr. Lawson's phrase, "Frenzied Finance," is too mild. Conscienceless finance is a more accurate description of what goes on in Wall street. "Frenzied" would imply an excitement so intense as to temporarily suspend the operation of the reason, but some of the Wall street transactions are deliberately contrived schemes for deception and pillage. One of these schemes is just now

being exposed in New York. A brokerage firm by the name of Monroe & Monroe failed, and the investigation revealed the operations of conspiracies as scandalous as any exposed by Lawson.

It seems that a plan was formed for giving a fictitious value to the stock of the Montreal & Boston Consolidated Copper Co. By what are called "washed sales" the stock was sold and bought by a secretly formed syndicate whose members dealt with each other—the purpose being to deceive the public. Second Vice-President Loomis of the National City Bank of New York—the Rockefeller bank—was, it is said, one of the syndicate, and his son was one of the officers of the copper company. The bank loaned the brokers sixty thousand dollars a day for eight days to help carry through the "washing" operations. It is asserted that the money was loaned without security and Mr. Loomis seems to think that that is the only question involved. When asked if he was going to resign he replied: "Why should I resign? They say we lent $60,000 a day for eight days without security. How do they know what security we had? The bank did not lose a cent." It does not seem to occur to him that there is anything wrong in practicing fraud on purchasers of stock. What about the "innocent widow and orphan" of whom we hear so much when any anti-corporation legislation is suggested? What difference is there in the principle between the "washing" process and plain, every-day stealing? Burglary is in the same category and is not a whit less dishonorable. Has the federal government any money on deposit in the National City Bank? If so, what does the president think of an institution whose officers are so morally obtuse as to see nothing wrong in such a plot? When the president gets ready to "shackle cunning" it might be well to include Wall street operations within the scope of the criminal law.

JACKSON DAY CELEBRATIONS

Jackson day was celebrated at a number of places throughout the country and wherever the democrats assembled they were hopeful and determined. It is evident

that the rank and file of the party, instead of being discouraged, are eager to begin the campaign of 1908. As January eighth—Jackson Day—came on Sunday, some of the banquets were held just before and some just after the eighth. Mr. Bryan was thus able to attend two Jackson Day banquets, one at Memphis, Tenn., on the sixth and the other at Lafayette, Ind., on the tenth. At both places the celebration was in charge of a local Jackson club. At Memphis, besides discussing the outlook, he answered the charge, made by one of the corporation papers, that the recent defeat was due to northern resentment against southern leadership, and he also dealt with the proposed reduction of southern representation. These questions have recently been discussed in THE COMMONER.

At LaFayette he took for his subject, "A Jackson Party,"—an abstract of his remarks at this place will be found below:

"Thomas Jefferson was both the founder of the democratic party and the greatest exponent of democratic principles. No one understood better than he the human heart and the influences that act upon it, and no one ever sympathized more fully with the common people. No one ever studied the science of government more profoundly or left so complete a chart for the guidance of those who may from time to time be in charge of the ship of state. He was the formost constructive statesman of the Christian era, and his fame increases with the years. But while one great law-giver may supply a code of principles which will suffice for centuries, each generation must furnish some conspicuous example of courageous application of those principles, and Andrew Jackson, in whose memory we meet tonight, stands forth not only as the representative of his generation, but as the second great democrat, because he fearlessly enforced the political creed of Jefferson.

"What the democratic party most needs today is to be animated by the spirit of Andrew Jackson as it approaches pending problems. It suffered overwhelming defeat last November, and the prime cause of that defeat is to be found in the fact that it lacked this spirit. It can not hope either to win or to deserve success until it

becomes in reality a Jackson party, and, like Old Hickory, is ready to take the people's side of every question without stopping to count the cost or to measure the prospects of immediate success.

"When General Jackson was informed that the British had landed just below New Orleans, he replied, "By the Eternal, they shall not sleep on American soil," and although he was awaiting reinforcements he harassed the enemy so constantly for the next two weeks that in the final struggle he won an easy victory over an exhausted foe. When the president of the United States Bank, Nicholas Biddle, attempted to threaten him with the statement that he, as the head of the bank, had the power to defeat him or to re-elect him, he answered, "If you have the power, you have a —— sight more power than any man ought to have in this country," and he proceeded to strip the head of the bank of that power.

"I know of no other plan of campaign today which is so consistent with our principles, or which offers so much of hope for the party and the people as the plan followed by Jackson. Taking our stand upon the principle, 'Equal rights to all and special privileges to none,' we should declare that wherever and whenever that principle is attacked we shall resist the attack immediately and continuously until that principle is applied without question to every department of the government, national, state and city.

"No one is wise enough to foresee what issues the next campaign may present, or to estimate their relative importance. No one has authority to state the party's position in advance of the next convention, but we can all, as democrats, resolve that to the extent of our influence we will insist that each issue shall be honestly met, and that the platform shall express the sentiment of the voters, as that sentiment is ascertained at the primaries. Those who believe that the democratic party should be 'a party of the people, by the people and for the people,' should organize for the purpose of carrying their views into effect, and this organization should pledge its members, individually and collectively, to oppose by every means within their power all efforts to corrupt the party in its party meetings, or the people at the polls.

"We can on such occasions as this exchange views and thus inform ourselves as to the questions which are under consideration. As a private in the ranks, with neither the power nor the desire to substitute my opinion for the opinion of any other person, I shall take advantage of this opportunity to call attention to certain questions which in my judgment demand consideration.

"The party's position on imperialism has been stated in two national platforms, and I do not see how the party can recede from that position. Colonialism is antagonistic to the principles of a republic, and we cannot stand before the world as the representative of the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and at the same time declare for the permanent holding of distant islands under a government resting purely upon force.

"The party's position upon the trust question is the only correct one. That a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable ought to be accepted as an axiomatic truth, and a sincere belief in that truth will lead our party to favor legislation, both civil and criminal, which will effectively protect the public from the evils of private monopoly.

"The party's position in favor of tariff reform can not be abandoned without conceding the right of the government to tax those who consume the products of protected industries in order to enrich the owners of those industries. It is suggested that we are to have a tariff commission to investigate and report upon tariff revision, but as that commission will necessarily report in favor of a protective tariff or a revenue tariff, the question must at last be fought out in congress, and the commission will simply delay action, without materially affecting the result. The tariff can not well be considered without considering the income tax, for no general reduction of tariff can be made without either a large decrease in the expenses of the government or the establishment of an income tax.

"The party's position upon the labor question is the only one consistent with the party's purpose. No matter whether the laboring man appreciates what the party does for him or fails to appreciate, the party must insist

upon the protection of the rights of the wage earner. There is no fixed laboring class in this country, and ought to be none. The children of those who work with their hands today may be the leaders in business and in the professions a generation hence, and the offspring of those who now labor with their heads may engage in manual labor. The government can not be made or administered in the interest of a class. It must protect each citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and guarantee to each citizen a just share of the joint product of that which he helps to bring into existence.

"And what of finance? The gold democrats blamed the silver plank for the defeats of 1896 and 1900. I hope that no one will attempt to make silver the scapegoat again. The platform adopted last July was wholly silent upon the money question, Judge Parker declared himself unqualifiedly for gold, and nearly every silver democrat prominently identified with recent campaigns supported the ticket in order to secure the other reforms for which Judge Parker stood, and yet the party polled a million and a quarter less votes than it did in either of the two preceding campaigns. While the increased production of gold has increased the volume of money, and brought in part the relief that bimetallism would have brought to a larger degree, yet some phase of the money question is always before the country, and the irrepressible conflict between the money power and the masses can never be safely ignored. Even now, there is a measure before congress, the object of which is to convert about six hundred million silver dollars into promises to pay gold, and this is but a step in the plan to retire the silver dollars and leave gold the only standard money. When the plan is complete, legislation will have destroyed all the benefits which we have derived from the increased production of gold. Aside from the metallic part of the money question we have to meet the issue between government paper and bank paper, and the party can no more take the banker's side of this question than it can take the manufacturer's side of the tariff question or the trust magnate's side of the question of private monopoly.

"While members of the democratic party are dealing with national questions they must also deal with state and municipal questions, and the same principles which govern them in dealing with national questions will govern them when dealing with questions of state and city. There has been a rapid growth of public sentiment in favor of the municipal ownership of municipal franchises. At the beginning of the last century nearly all the cities obtained their water supply from private water plants; now, nearly every city of any size has its own water plants, and those that have not, ought to have. The ownership of lighting plants comes next, and each year finds a larger number of cities providing their own light and furnishing light at cost to their people. The municipal ownership of street car lines will follow, and municipal ownership of the telephones may come even before the street car lines are acquired. Where competition is impossible, and a monopoly unavoidable, the benefits of the monopoly must accrue to the whole public and not to a few favored individuals. Municipal ownership of natural monopolies is not only necessary to protect the people from extortion, but for the purification of city government and city politics.

"Not only must the city own the natural monopolies of the city, but the nation and the state must for the same reasons follow the same course in regard to monopolies that come within their sphere of operation. The consolidation of railroads, the giving of rebates, the making of discriminations, the watering of stock, the charging of excessive rates and the corruption of public officials—all these are combining to force upon the public the consideration of the railroad question. President Roosevelt is just now entering upon a contest for the regulation of railroad rates, and the democrats ought to heartily support him in the position he is taking. If with democratic assistance he succeeds in securing more strict regulation of the railroads engaged in interstate commerce, the public will receive the benefit and the democratic party will share in the credit. If, even with democratic assistance, he fails, the democratic party will profit by the educational work which he is doing, and the railroad question will be made still more acute. While I am anxious that

the virtue of government supervision and regulation shall be fully tried, I find myself inclined to the belief that public ownership is the only permanent cure for the evils which have grown out of the management of the great arteries of trade by a few individuals who have only their own pecuniary interests in view and who exploit the public to the extent that the traffic will bear it. I believe that the federal ownership of trunk lines and the state ownership of the network of local railroads will furnish a solution of the problem. State ownership of the multitude of local lines would give the people the benefit of public ownership without the dangers of centralization and the federal ownership of trunk lines would answer the purposes of interstate commerce.

"It is for the members of the democratic party to deal with these and similar questions with the courage that Jackson displayed in dealing with the questions which confronted his generation. That democratic principles are sound does not, among democrats at least, admit of dispute, for they rest upon belief in the brotherhood of man. That those principles will triumph can not be doubted by those who believe in their truth, for truth is mighty, and must at last prevail.

"If any of you lack faith, go forth into the fields. You find that a tiny seed planted in the ground contains a germ that, bursting from its prison walls, sends its roots down into the ground and its leaves up into the air. Under the influence of soil, and rain, and sunshine, that seed multiplies until it furnishes bread for the race. Go forth among the orchards and you will find that a little slip or twig will grow into a tree which will furnish shade for the weary, and fruit for the hungry. You know that behind the seed and the twig is an irresistible force that working constantly, supplies the needs of man. The forces behind moral and economic fruit are no less irresistible. We have but to plant and attend them, and the harvest of blessing is sure."

HOME RULE FOR CITIES

Governor Folk of Missouri, in his inaugural address urged home rule in the cities, in the following language:

"The government of the larger cities of the state is a subject of great importance. The police departments of St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph are controlled as an arm of the state by boards appointed by the governor. This has been the system in our state for more than forty years, and changes that are made should only be after due consideration and close study of this serious problem. Hasty action on measures intended for the benefit of some political party may lead to serious public injury. These questions should be approached with a due appreciation of their gravity and of the good or evil that would result from any new laws on the subject. I believe the people can be trusted to govern themselves, and that if these cities are given the privilege of selecting their own officials the people there will give more attention to their political affairs. If it be wrong to give local self-government in the selection of local officials to any part of the state, then it would seem that the entire theory of our government is wrong. If the people of these cities do not take enough interest in public affairs to secure good government for themselves, they ought not to expect to get it from the outside. It is insisted that the criminal classes congregate in the larger cities, and if the police department, for instance, are subject to local control, these criminal classes would have an undue influence over the members of the departments. Unfortunately, it is true that the criminal and corrupt, though constituting but a small proportion of the entire population of the great cities, have a powerful influence in politics, by reason of their pernicious activity. They have this influence, however, because of the inactivity of good citizens. Local self-government would compel the latter, in self-protection, to attend to the public business, which is their own business, after all."

Governor Folk's reasoning is sound. The doctrine that the people of St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph can not be trusted to control their own police force is inconsistent with the theory of self-government. If the people can not take care of their own local affairs how can they be expected to act wisely in dealing with things remote from them? The tendency toward the centralization of power at some remote center is a dangerous one. Governor Folk has sounded a democratic note and he ought to have the support of all the democrats in the Missouri legislature. If the democratic party ceases to trust the people the people will cease to trust it. Nothing in Governor Folk's message furnishes more conclusive proof of his loyalty to the fundamental principle of free government. Success to his effort to restore home rule to the cities of Missouri.

POPULAR ELECTIONS

The *Chicago Record-Herald,* a republican paper, refers to the fact that the federal grand jury returned indictments against Senators Mitchell, Burton and Dietrich, and says: "In each of these deplorable instances the charges involve corruption and moral turpitude—a bitter reflection for a legislative body proud of its traditions and jealous of its prerogatives and reputation. The low tone of political morality receives a painful and striking illustration in these successive blows to senatorial prestige."

The *Record-Herald* adds: "The possibility of further disgrace and degradation would be greatly diminished by substituting for indirect elections the plan of popular election of federal senators."

The *Record-Herald* might also have said that the fact that there are a number of prominent United States senators who have not yet been reached by indictment, and will perhaps never be reached by indictment, who serve on the senate floor as the representatives of special interests provides another striking argument in favor of the popular election of senators.

The *Record-Herald* might also have said that the fact that New York, Minnesota and Nebraska have during the present year elected to the senate men who were picked by the railroads provides another strong argument in favor of the popular election of senators.

A FREE PRESS

It is reported that the czar is contemplating several reforms—among them the removal of all restrictions on the press. This is an item of the very greatest importance, if true. A free press will prove to be the beginning of other reforms. No abuse can successfully resist the influence of public discussion and no ruler who desires to serve the best interests of his people can afford to silence criticism. Give an opponent freedom to speak and he will speak frankly. He will point out faults that friends conceal. Even exaggeration is useful, for like a microscope it enables us to see that which might otherwise escape notice. No well meaning official need fear harm from a free press and objections from any other kind of an official need not be considered.

ASSET CURRENCY

A Prairie City, Iowa, reader writes: "Why not asset currency? Answer in COMMONER if convenient."

The term "asset currency" is used to describe the currency which some of the financiers are now proposing, namely, a currency which does not rest upon government bonds as the present currency does, but merely upon the assets of the bank. The currency is printed by the government and issued to the bank with no security fund back of it, other than a general lien upon the assets of the bank. If the government does not guarantee the currency it may become worthless if the officials of the bank abscond with the assets. If, on the other hand, the government guarantees the currency, as is advised by most advocates of asset currency, the bank gets the benefit at the expense of the people and if the government does guarantee the cur-

rency the government will have a first lien upon the assets among which the deposits are to be considered, and so not only the government, but the depositors will carry the risk and in the event of disaster foot the bill.

BACK TO THE PEOPLE

The tide is turning. For a quarter of a century corporate influence in politics has been increasing; campaign funds have grown larger and larger, and the circle of political corruption has been constantly extended. Voters were bought; city councils were bribed; state legislatures became the tools of railroads and monopolies, and the instrumentalities of the federal government were turned to private gain. Three United States senators have been indicted for the misuse of their influence within the last two years, and officials in high places have been found guilty of plundering the treasury while drawing salaries from the people.

The public conscience was apparently benumbed, and men joked about corruption that ought to have excited alarm. But light is breaking. In 1892 the populist party pointed out the drift of the country toward plutocracy; in 1896 the democratic party fought a herculean struggle and turned its face toward reform. It dared to do what few parties had before attempted—namely, repudiate an administration at the primaries. It wrote a platform so distinctly a people's platform, that it alienated the plutocratic element of the party, and when that element deserted it carried with it a great many democrats really in sympathy with the people, but misled by the prominence of some of the leaders. And yet in spite of desertion the democratic party, with the aid of the populists and silver republicans, polled a million more votes than it had ever polled before—in fact a million more votes than any party had ever polled before. There was a tremendous increase in the total vote in 1896—an increase so remarkable that taken in connection with the fact that there has been no increase since, leads to the suspicion that more votes were counted than polled.

The movement started in 1896 would have been successful in 1900 but for two unexpected factors that entered into the campaign. First, the increased production of gold, which by enlarging the volume of money improved industrial conditions; and second, the Spanish war which not only tended, as wars do, to raise prices but turned the attention of the people away from economic questions. But the plutocratic influences grew and flourished with republican success. New privileges were granted and new methods of exploitation invented, with the inevitable result,—an awakening of the public to the dangers ahead. The "stand-pat" element in the republican party was strong enough in the last convention to prevent the adoption of a platform protest, and the reactionary element in the democratic party was strong enough to eliminate, for the time being, some of the radicalism in the democratic platform. But neither convention could stay the growth of sentiment among the people, and as a result the democratic candidate—believed to be even more conservative than his platform—fell a million and a quarter below the democratic vote in 1900, and the republican candidate—believed to be more radical than his platform—ran some four hundred thousand votes ahead of his party's vote four years before, while the socialist party—the most radical party in the field—gained more than three hundred per cent in its vote.

As complete returns of the election came in, it became evident that a great deal of independent voting was done. While Massachusetts and Minnesota went strongly republican, they elected democratic governors. Peabodyism was overthrown in Colorado, and Folk carried Missouri in spite of the fact that the electoral vote of the state was given to Roosevelt. LaFollette, the pioneer reformer, was re-elected governor in Wisconsin, in spite of the opposition of the corporate element of his party, and in Michigan, Rhode Island, Nebraska, Kansas and Wyoming the democratic and fusion candidates ran far ahead of their national tickets.

No sooner was the election over than signs of the coming awakening began to multiply. One of the most encouraging was the message of retiring Governor Durbin of Indiana. He pointed out the political corruption in

Indiana, and called for a remedy. Governor Adams of Colorado called attention to the corruption of the franchise in his state, and asked for remedial legislation.

Governor Folk of Missouri, Governor Hanley of Indiana, and Governor Meade of Washington in their inaugural messages called attention to the practices of the lobby and to the evil of the railroad pass.

LaFollette of Wisconsin, Folk of Missouri and Deneen of Illinois urged the passage of primary laws for the purpose of giving the voters in each party absolute control over the pary organization, and Governor Folk went even farther and advised a return to home rule in cities, pointing out the evil effect of legislation which takes the control of municipal affairs out of the hands of the people of the city.

While these recommendations were being made in the states, the president signalized his election by announcing his determination not to be a candidate for another term, thus putting himself in a position to act with independence, and to prove his independence of party organizations he recommended legislation to make public the campaign contributions received, and he also urged legislation enlarging the scope of the interstate commerce law.

In addition to this, he has put himself on record in favor of a reduction of the tariff where it shelters monopoly, and has given indications of an intention to proceed more vigorously against the trusts.

While these things are going on in official circles, private individuals have been pointing out the excesses and evil practices of the Wall street financiers. Mr. Lawson, in his articles on "Frenzied Finance," in Everybody's Magazine, has shaken confidence in the honesty of some of the principal stock operators and has given the public needed information in regard to the methods employed. Mr. Beardsley, in the *Era,* has uttered a warning note against the manner in which the large insurance companies manipulate, for their own advantage, the assets which they hold in trust. Miss Tarbell has given us a history of the criminality of the Standard Oil trust, and Mr. Bridge has revealed the inside history of the steel trust. Court investigations have contributed to the general information upon the subject and cast suspicion

upon the integrity of some of the chief promoters. All of these disclosures tend in the same direction—namely, toward the purification of politics and the bringing of the government nearer the people. "Back to the people," is an expression that is being heard with more and more frequency. It is evident that the democratic party, cured by sore experience of its inclination to conservatism and chastened by the rod of affliction, is now determined to begin an honest fight for the supremacy of the people in party management and in public affairs. Renewing its trust in the masses, as taught by Jefferson, and acknowledging the spirit of democracy as exemplified by Jackson, it will in the next campaign be in position to do yeoman service in behalf of the common people.

The republican party, on the other hand, is entering upon the struggle through which the democratic party has passed successfully. There is a reform element in the republican party, as well as a plutocratic element, and this reform element is now marshalling behind the president. Let no one imagine that the contest is going to lack excitement. Just in proportion as the president attempts to protect the rights of the people will he be called a demagogue, a disturber of the peace, and, possibly, an anarchist. Those who support him will be accused of taking up with populistic doctrines, democratic doctrines, and socialist doctrines. Let them not be dismayed. This is the path which all reformers must travel; these are the obstacles which all must meet. The democrats ought to support the president in every attempted reform. They ought to do it because it is right to do so, and they ought also to do it because party expediency requires it. The republicans may resent this support and use it as an argument to keep republicans away from him, but they may as well recognize that the trend is now back to the people. The corporations can delay the movement. They can for a time defeat those who join the movement, but the movement will succeed. There is more virtue in the people than ever finds expression through representatives, and the time is ripe for the summoning of this virtue to the country's rescue. The primary law takes the party out of the hands of bosses and corporate representatives and puts it in the hands of the voters of the party, and these voters, whether they be

republicans or democrats, or members of some other party, want good government. The people trust themselves, and when they understand the situation they trust those who trust them. Governor Pingree once declared that the reformer must come from a long-lived race, because of the patience demanded of him and the length of the struggle through which he must pass; but happily reforms do not depend upon any one person. As in an army, so in political warfare, the death of a leader is simply a summons to the one next in line to take his place. The conflict goes on and the great fighting force is not made up of leaders, but of the rank and file. The reformer is abroad in the land, and "Back to the people" is his inspiration. The reformer must necessarily appeal to the people, for he acts in their interests, and can secure help from no other source. At last the people rule.

Let democrats take courage; they have passed through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Let republicans as they enter the Valley remember that they, too, may ultimately emerge from it, if they will but make their party the champion of human rights and popular government, rather than the tool of corporate greed and predatory wealth.

AN INDEPENDENT COLLEGE

The press dispatches have called attention to the fact that Mr. Bryan has just been chosen president of the board of trustees of his alma mater, Illinois college, located at Jacksonville, Illinois. The dispatches have also announced that at the same session of the board of trustees at which he was thus honored a resolution was adopted providing for a termination of the agreement entered into a few years ago between Illinois college and the Chicago university—the institution which Mr. Rockefeller is backing. This agreement gave the Chicago institution a partial supervision over the studies taught at the college. Believing that his alma mater ought to be independent of the Rockefeller influence and free to teach economic truth without fear or favor, Mr. Bryan opposed the agreement and declined to be officially connected with Illinois college while the objectionable relations contin-

ued. It goes without saying that he is gratified to have his college freed from any suspicion of plutocratic influence and he hopes that those who are opposed to the subsidizing of our institutions of learning by the monopolists will lend encouragement to this splendid old college which has had the courage to put its trust in the plain people. It deserves well of the public. If you have a boy to educate you can send him to Illinois college with the assurance that his mind will not be biased in favor of organized wealth by teachers who receive their daily bread from the hands of the beneficiaries of the trusts. No college can do its full duty to the rising generation so long as it tries to so shape its course of instruction as to please the unscrupulous exploiters who infest the commercial highways and plunder the passersby. In the great struggle between the people and intrenched privilege the people are entitled to the companionship of college bred men, and it is a pity that more of our colleges do not take the independent position which Illinois college has assumed.

"AN OPEN MIND"

The editor of the *Daily Soliphone* of Paragould, Ark., quotes one of THE COMMONER's editorials on government ownership, and announces that while he is not an advocate of the public ownership of railroads he approaches the subject with an open mind, and is ready to consider arguments upon the subject. He says:

> "Therefore, let Mr. Bryan show us some things, among them these: How will the government come into possession of the railroads? If by purchase, how many million dollars would it take to buy them? How can we reach a proper valuation? Shall their value be estimated upon their earning capacity or upon the cost of their rolling stock, roadbeds, etc.? Would all the railroads of the United States under government ownership be consolidated into one vast system or would there be divisional systems each having its own president, traffic manager, passenger agents, etc.? Would there be increased or diminished acti-

vity in railroad construction under government ownership? Would the liability for damages for negligence be the same against the government railroads that it is now against corporation railroads? Would the government railroads be liable for punitive damages? Would a fellow-servant's law apply to government railroads the same as it does to corporation railroads?

"These questions are not prompted by idle jest nor curiosity. We sincerely hope that Mr. Bryan will give the people a series of strong educational articles on the question.

"There is not one man in a thousand in this country who understands it. Mr. Bryan certainly does or he would not champion the cause of government ownership of railroads.

"The *Soliphone* is committed to municipal ownership of public utilities. Its blessings have been demonstrated all over the conutry; but when it comes to government ownership of the railroads some loud thinking is in order.

"We'd like to hear from Mr. Bryan frequently through his COMMONER, which is a part of our weekly mental diet."

The editor of the *Soliphone* is right in regarding the question as one of the first magnitude and one upon which education is necessary. He says that his paper is committed to "municipal ownership of public utilities" and declares that the blessings of municipal ownership have been demonstrated all over the country. The arguments which are used to defend municipal ownership are relied upon to defend the public ownership of the railways. While the railroad is not so complete a monopoly as a street car line, or water plant, it has many of the features of a monopoly. A railroad line between two points, while it does not exclude the building of another line, makes it impossible for the second line to be built as advantageously as the first was. One line between two points can carry the traffic at a less expense than two lines, and the building of one line to a large extent hinders the builders of another line. A person living along a railroad line must necessarily use that line. The cost of

carrying his goods to another line makes him patronize the nearest line. If he lives at a competing point, the railroad rate is generally the same on all lines. He is thus at the mercy of the railroads unless there is supervision, and heretofore the attempt to supervise has been thwarted by the influence exerted by the railroads over congress and state legislatures. The readers of The Commoner need not be told how this influence is exerted; the story is too well known in all the states, and we are just now hearing something about it from Washington.

How the government is to obtain possession of the railroads is a matter of detail. It can condemn the roads, or buy them at an agreed price, or build new ones. It can buy them by piecemeal or all at once, and it can determine the proper valuation just as it determines the valuation of anything else. Whether there would be increased activity in railroad construction is a question upon which opinions might differ. It is probable that there would be less activity in the building of competing lines and more activity in the extension of lines to meet local conditions. The government would provide against damage and acts of negligence according to the wishes of the people, for the people would control.

The editor of the The Commoner believes in state ownership as contradistinguished from federal ownership. That is, he believes that the network of railroads supplying the local needs should be owned by the state, with only trunk lines under the ownership of the federal government. The trunk lines could carry inter-state commerce and give each state an outlet to all the rest of the country, while the state lines could be developed according to the needs of the state and regulated at home. Under this system each state could manage its own affairs, and the objection that rests upon centralization—and it is the most serious objection to federal ownership—would be obviated. It is not necessary that the federal government should direct the loading, unloading and carrying of local freight in order to give to the country the advantage of public ownership of the railroads. Just now an attempt is being made to secure more strict regulation of the railroads. This is a movement in the right direction.

If it succeeds the public will be willing to try this remedy before going farther. If the attempt fails the sentiment in favor of public ownership will grow the more rapidly. If the experiment of more strict regulation is tried, the future growth of sentiment on public ownership will depend upon the result of the experiment. If experience in the attempt to regulate municipal monopolies is any guide, then it is only a question of time when the question of public ownership of the railways must be met. Railway building is in its infancy. The multiplication of electric lines gives some indication of what is to be expected. As the influence of the railroad increases as compared with other industries, we must be prepared to solve the problem presented in such a way as to advance.

SOME VAN DYKEISMS

Dr. Henry Van Dyke, in a recent foreword for a new book, says:

> "Make me respect my material so much that I dare not slight my work. Help me to deal very honestly with words and with people because they are both alive. Show me that, as in a river, so in writing, clearness is the best quality, and a little that is pure is worth more than much that is mixed. Teach me to see the local color without being blind to the inner life. Give me an ideal that will stand the strain of weaving into human stuff on the loom of the real. Keep me from caring more for books than for folks, for art than for life. Steady me to do my full stint of work as well as I can, and when that is done stop me, pay me what wages thou wilt and help me to say from a quiet heart a grateful Amen."

Each sentence contains a sentiment, and each sentiment is a helpful one.

TO IMPROVE THE CURRENCY

Congressman Hill of Connecticut has introduced a bill entitled "A Bill to Improve Currency Conditions," and it has been reported favorably by the house committee,

with some immaterial amendments. The bill provides, first, that all government moneys may be deposited in national banks. This is intended to increase the amount of money to be kept in national banks. The second provision is for the removal of the $3,000,000 per month limit on the retirement of bank notes. The third provision is for the recoinage of silver dollars into subsidiary coin. The fourth is for the issue of gold certificates in denomination of ten dollars, whereas twenty dollars is now the lowest. The fifth relates to the denominations of national bank notes.

The first, second and third provisions are the most important. The Commoner has called attention to the practice of depositing money in national banks. As the banks find it profitable to loan government money, they are naturally anxious to have as much of it as possible on deposit, and so long as the government gives the banks the benefit of its surplus, the influence of these banks will be thrown on the side of legislation which will keep a large surplus on hand constantly for the benefit of the banks. In other words, the people use their own money (when their money is deposited in the banks) to subsidize the banks to oppose the interests of the people. Can the people afford to do this?

Not only do government deposits interest the banks in opposing a reduction in taxation, but they lay the foundation for a campaign fund which in turn obligates the party receiving the contributions to legislation favorable to the banks. If Congressman Cockran's measure for the investigation of campaign contributions is adopted, we shall learn something about the manner in which the favored banks show their appreciation of administrative favoritism.

The removal of the $3,000,000 limit on the retirement of national bank circulation is intended to give the banks a free hand in the control of the circulation. But for that limitation (which has existed from the incorporation of the present national banks) the banks could by concert retire any portion they liked of the circulating medium and thus contract the quantity of money in circulation. As the volume of the circulating medium fixes the

price of all property, the banks would thus be able to control, to a large extent, the value of the property of all other persons. This was one of the main objections which Jefferson urged to the bank of issue, and it is an objection which has never been answered and which never will be answered.

The proposition to remove the $3,000,000 per month limit is simply a step toward the consummation of the conspiracy to make the banks the sole arbiters of the financial interests of the country.

The third proposition looks to the retirement of some 550,000,000 of silver dollars. These dollars are now standard money of the country. Just to the extent that these silver dollars are recoined, the volume of standard money will be reduced, and as no provision exists for an increase in the coinage of silver dollars, the recoinage would not go on until a senate, house and president could be secured favorable to bimetallism.

There is also before congress a bill for the conversion of the silver dollar into promises to pay gold, and this will be followed by a bill to retire the silver dollars, or to limit their legal tender. The crusade in favor of the gold standard has not been completed, but the financiers lose no opportunity to advance their cause. They never fight an open fight; they never invite the public to sit in judgment upon their claims; they do their work in the dark and announce their plans only when they are ready to execute them.

The last national platform of the republican party did not declare in favor of making the silver dollar specifically redeemable in gold, neither did it announce the purpose of the party to melt up the silver dollars into subsidiary coin. The press dispatches reported that when that question was brought up near the close of the last congress, a cabinet meeting discussed it and decided not to agitate the question. Now that the election is over the matter is sprung upon the public. Congressman Bartlett of Georgia presented a minority report ably pointing out the objections to the bill, and it is to be hoped that the democrats in congress will present a united opposition to it.

"FRENZIED FINANCE"

Mr. Thomas Lawson might vary his subject a little and speak of the "Frenzied Financiers," for his "Frenzied Finance" articles have made the Wall street magnates wild. He has, with great literary skill, presented a story which has attracted the attention of the entire country. He has told such a tale of speculation, accompanied by fraud, corruption, deception, and even violence, that the country stands aghast. He gives names and goes into detail and is liable for libel if his charges are false, and as no one questions his pecuniary responsibility the failure of the men attacked to prosecute him gives weight to his accusations.

Some of the men exposed tried to scare newsdealers into refusing to handle the magazine for which he writes, but they would not frighten and there the bluff ended.

The Lawson articles will have a salutary influence; they will warn the lambs away from the slaughter house —"a consummation devoutly to be wished." The articles will also show the fallacy of allowing the finances of the nation to be controlled by men who can not keep from loading the dice even when they play with each other.

Wall street is emerging from the contest entirely discredited. It matters not what Lawson's motive may be, he is serving a useful purpose.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The expected has happened. Russia is now the scene of bloodshed because arbitrary power is deaf to the petitions of the people. The spirit of Patrick Henry is abroad in the land of the czar and "give me liberty or give me death" thrills the world. A few weeks ago the Zemstvo presented an argument in support of their demand for representative government but they were met with the reply that while some reforms would be inaugurated the autocracy would not consider the proposition to establish a legislature. Then came a workmen's strike—innocent enough in itself—but when the czar (or some one for him) refused to see a deputation of laboring men and ordered the soldiers to fire upon the petitioners the cry for self-

government was the prompt response. The end can not be seen. Censorship may for a while keep the actual facts from becoming known to the outside world, but there is but one solution, namely, constitutional government. The czar might have made himself immortal by recognizing the justice of the demand of his people and conceding to them participation in their own government, but he was blind enough to refuse and now he hears curses upon the lips of those who recently addressed him as "Little Father." It was ever thus. That "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" is a self-evident truth and a failure to recognize it whether here, or in the Philippines, or in Russia, means bloodshed and more bloodshed. The American people, without regard to party or creed, will sympathize with the struggling masses of Russia and bid them Godspeed. Their prayers will ascend with the prayers of Father Gopon, who, like Hidalgo, the leader of the Mexican revolution, brings religious zeal to the support of the cause of freedom.

DEMOCRATIC IDEA OF GOVERNMENT

The *Saturday Evening Post* is the latest recruit to democracy. It is not a partisan sheet of the "thick and thin" variety, but it occasionally has an editorial which indicates its democratic tendency. The following for instance:

> "German newspapers are always sighing because the Monroe doctrine prevents Germany from acquiring the South American lands settled by German immigrants and so from becoming a 'world power.'
>
> "What a pitiful and perverted notion of the object of government this involves. Yet it is one that has not a few adherents in our own country, where there is no excuse for such ignorance. For we ought all to know that government is made for man, not man for government. According to our theory, and let us hope, practice, government is not a power but a servant, an instrument to enable the common man to develop his faculties to their fullest. And the conditions

under which those faculties can best develop are freedom and peace—neither of them consistent with the imperial notion.

"How slowly the world develops! How hard it is for man to grasp the great, broad, high truths of democracy, mere common sense though they are! How many men who ought to know better secretly share the benighted 'patriotism' of the peasant who glories in the spendthrift splendor of the aristocracy that grinds him into the dust."

The above does not present an argument in favor of any surface policy but it touches a fundamental principle. The democratic idea is that the government is a thing made by the people for themselves, or rather it is the people acting together for the protection of their own rights and for the advancement of their own interests. The imperialistic ideal of government—and it is also the monarchical and aristrocratic idea—is that a government is a thing entirely separate and apart from the people. According to the imperialistic idea the people may have nothing whatever to do with their own government except to obey it under fear of death and to support it by taxation levied upon them without representation. According to this theory a government can be carried in a ship and thrown like a net over helpless people. According to this theory a few men can land upon a shore, before unknown to them, coerce the natives into submission and do with them as they see fit. If the invaders gather up all the property in sight and then sail away leaving the people free, it is usually called piracy, but if the invaders remain, set up a "government" and extend their pillage over a period of years it is sometimes called "benevolent assimilation," but a colonial system rests upon the same foundation as piracy, namely, force. Piracy is condensed colonialism; colonialism is piracy extended and reduced to a system. The democratic theory of self-government is and must be eternally at war with the doctrine of imperialism. The *Post* is right; the government is not the master but the servant of the people. This is the rock upon which democracy is built, and democracy can not rest securely on any other foundation.

THOSE "USELESS" SILVER DOLLARS

Mr. John Landis, superintendent of the Philadelphia mint, says that unless something is done to authorize the purchase of silver for subsidiary coinage, commerce will be greatly hampered, and then he adds that the silver bullion has been exhausted "because of the coining of our useless hoard of 558,000,000 standard dollars, for which there has never been any real popular demand."

Superintendent Landis is guilty of astonishing ignorance upon this subject. We have no "useless hoard" of silver dollars. The silver dollars stored in the treasury are really in circulation, for they represent money actually doing service among the people. But for that "useless hoard" we would have $558,000,000 less of standard money than we have today. It is a very common mistake for the advocates of the gold standard to speak contemptuously of the silver in the treasury, while they handle the paper representatives of that silver every day. Why not speak of the "useless hoard" of gold dollars held for the redemption of gold certificates?

According to the circulation statement of January 1, 1905, the money in circulation includes:

$649,548,528 in gold (including bullion in treasury).
$466,739,689 gold certificates.
$80,039,395 standard silver dollars.
$468,017,227 silver certificates.
$102,891,327 subsidiary silver.
$10,940,054 treasury notes.
$342,287,627 United States notes.
$449,157,278 national bank notes.

The gold certificates include all certificates issued, although some have doubtless been lost or destroyed. The same is true of silver certificates, treasury notes, United States notes, and bank notes, so that the estimate of paper money is necessarily an over-estimate. It will be seen however, that the silver certificates and gold certificates are practically the same in amount, and yet the gold standard advocates never speak of a "useless hoard" of gold, while they constantly speak of the silver in the treasury as being useless. Is this discrimination due to prejudice or to ignorance, or to both?

ONE IDEA OF LIBERTY

President Tuttle of the Boston & Maine railroad, in a recent speech before the Newton club at Boston, said:

> "When the United States government or a state government undertakes the supervision of the private business of a corporation or an individual, to the extent of saying what price they shall charge for their product in the open market, then I say in the most temperate manner that I fear we have entered upon a course which is against the fundamental principle upon which this government is founded, individual liberty, and I don't want to live to see the end of it."

This is the idea of "individual liberty" which some of the railroad magnates have. They call it individual liberty for a man at the head of a railroad to arbitrarily fix rates and discriminate in favor of one patron and against another. President Tuttle ought to learn at once, and not hereafter forget, that a corporation has no natural rights It is a creature of law and deriving its existence from an act of the legislature it must live always under government regulation. A railroad is under a double control. It is not only under control because it is a corporation, but because it is a quasi-public corporation. Because of its public functions it enjoys the right of eminent domain and otherwise exercises privileges denied to the individual.

It is just such talk as that which comes from President Tuttle that is awakening the public to the necessity of stricter regulation of the railroads, and when this stricter regulation is found impossible or not wholly effective, the demand for public ownership will increase.

TAFT ON ULTIMATE INDEPENDENCE

Secretary of War Taft recently appeared before the ways and means committee and in the course of his testimony declared that he expected the Filipinos to have independence ultimately, but added that the present status would probably be maintained during this generation be-

cause of present incapacity for self-government. While this seems almost like an endorsement of the democratic position it differs in two important respects. First, it makes no promise and therefore gives the Filipinos no assurances, and second, it puts this nation in the position of denying the present capacity of the Filipinos for self-government—a position which is antagnoistic to the Declaration of Independence. There is a vital difference between a promise of independence to be fulfilled as soon as a stable government can be established and a vague prophecy that independence will be given some time provided capacity for self-government is hereafter developed.

Capacity for self-government is relative—we measure the capacity of others by our own capacity. If we are many genrations ahead of the Filipinos how are they going to decrease the gulf between us unless they make more progress than we? If we are going to deal with the Filipinos according to American principles we must begin by recognizing that the Filipinos have both the right to self-government and the capacity for it and then promising independence proceed to assist them to establish a republican form of government, which, when established, shall be turned over to the elected representatives of the people, just as the Cuban government, when formed, was turned over to the Cuban people.

A BISHOP DEFENDS WAR

The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* asks whether war is an education and quotes Bishop Foss, of the Methodist Episcopal church, as saying in defense of war:

"I venture to say to our peace friends here in Philadelphia that they have overrated their anti-war doctrine which they say will overcome war entirely. I know no more important element in our character building than is exemplified by war and its consequent lesson of strict attention to duty. I, as a minister, very much wish that eternal peace might be assured, but we have not yet arrived at that point. At

this time much must be done by force, and that is why every young man must learn to fight to the last and if necessary die at his post."

This is strange doctrine to come from a follower of the Prince of Peace. If war furnishes so important an element in character building, how can he wish for eternal peace? And is he likely to hasten peace if he really believes that "at this time much must be done by force?"

It is now nineteen hundred years since the gospel of peace was proclaimed to the world and still Christian ministers can be found who cry "not yet" and rebuke "our peace friends." If any young man tells Bishop Foss that he has "not yet arrived at that point" where he is ready to become a Christian, that he has much to do that must be done by un-Christian methods, what does the bishop say? And yet the young man's excuse would be no more absurd than the bishop's. The value of war in character building is small compared with the evil influence which it exerts. Many reformed men have turned their experiences in sin to advantage when warning others, but who would advise young men to sow wild oats in order to use their immoralities as a warning? War will not be abolished any too soon even when all the Christian influences are united against it. It is to be regretted that any minister should so misinterpret his Bible as to become a champion of war.

MISREPRESENTATIVES

Six democrats—Goulden, Harrison, Rider and Scudder of New York, McDermott of New Jersey and Shull of Pennsylvania—voted against the rate bill, and by so doing forfeited any claim that they might have previously had to democratic respect or support. A democrat who will refuse to vote for a railroad regulation bill which even a majority of the republicans were constrained to support may find some excuse for calling himself a democrat, but democrats can surely find no excuse for calling him to legislative service while there is likelihood of a conflict between the people and the corporations.

A democrat who acts with the railroads and against the people in such a crisis is a heavy load for the party to carry. No matter how conscientious he may be his bias in favor of the corporations makes his connection with the party in an official capacity a detriment to the party. The party must rid itself of such misrepresentatives if it would win the confidence of the public.

MR. ROOSEVELT ON DEMOCRATIC GROUND

Referring to President Roosevelt's railroad policy the *New York Sun* asks: "Who is the borrower?" and adds: "In this lightning change comedy of politics, has Mr. Bryan flopped to Mr. Roosevelt or has Mr. Roosevelt flopped to Mr. Bryan? Have the democrats become republicans or the republicans become democrats?"

The democratic party, in the parlance of the street, is "doing business at the old stand." In his demand for an enlargement of the powers of the interstate commrce commission and reform in the matter of freight rates and rebates, Mr. Roosevelt is on democratic territory. In his proposed reform he is receiving support and encouragement from democrats everywhere, not because he has discovered a new reform, not because democrats have abandoned their principles or that republican doctrines have become more acceptable to them, but rather because Mr. Roosevelt has taken up a reform which was long ago and repeatedly suggested by the democratic party.

Not long ago the Missouri legislature, the lower house of which is republican, adopted a joint resolution requesting the Missouri delegation in congress to support the president's recommendations on the matter of rate regulating legislation. Ten of Missouri's members of the lower house, replying to the legislature's resolution, sent the following telegram:

> "We are in receipt of a copy of a joint resolution passed by the legislature, asking us to support the recommendations of the president to regulate freight rates. As democrats, it affords us pleasure to comply with this request, and we can support such legisla-

tion the more zealously, since the president's message is simply a reiteration of the declaration in the last three national democratic platforms, as well as the frequent utterances of Mr. Bryan."

Many republican newspapers whose editors appear to be ignorant of the facts are actually congratulating themselves that the democrats who support Mr. Roosevelt in his railroad policy have, in the language of the *New York Sun*, "become repulbicans." Perhaps many of those editors do not know that while the last three republican national platforms have been wholly silent on this question and while republican candidates, republican orators, and republican organs have habitually dodged it, the last three democratic national platforms have explicitly declared in favor of the reform, while democratic candidates, democratic speakers and democratic newspapers have vigorously and consistently advocated it.

The democratic national platform adopted at Chicago in 1896 said:

"The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems and the formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the federal government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the interstate commerce commission and such restriction and guarantees in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression."

The democratic national platform adopted at Kansas City in 1900 said:

"We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the interstate commerce law as will enable the commision to protect individuals and communities from discriminations and the public from unjust and unfair transportation rates."

The democratic national platform adopted at St. Louis in 1904 said:

"We demand an enlargement of the powers of the interstate commerce commission, to the end that the

traveling public and shippers of this government may have prompt and adequate relief from the abuses to which they are subjected in the matter of transportation. We demand a strict enforcement of existing civil and criminal statutes against all such trusts, combinations and monopolies; and we demand the enactment of such further legislation as may be necessary to effectually suppress them."

In his letter accepting the presidential nomination in 1896, Mr. Bryan said:

"The democratic party is opposed to trusts. It would be recreant to its duty to the people of the country if it recognized either the moral or the legal right of these great aggregations of wealth to stifle competition, bankrupt rivals and then prey upon society. Corporations are the creatures of law and they must not be permitted to pass from under the control of the power which created them; they are permitted to exist upon the theory that they advance the public weal and they must not be allowed to use their powers for the public injury. The right of the United States government to regulate interstate commerce cannot be questioned and the necessity for the vigorous exercise of the right is becoming more and more imperative. The interests of the whole people require such an enlargement of the powers of the interestate commerce commission as will enable it to prevent discrimination between persons and places, and protect patrons from unreasonable charges."

In his letter accepting the presidential nomination in 1900, Mr. Brysan said:

"The republican party has persistently refused to comply with the urgent request of the interstate commerce commission for such an enlargement of the scope of the interstate commerce law as will enable the commission to realize the hopes aroused by its creation. The democratic party is pledged to legislation which will empower the commission to protect individuals and communities from discrimination, and the public at large from unjust and unfair transportation rates."

If anyone will take the trouble to examine the democratic campaign book for 1900 he will find that several pages are devoted to the "railroad question—discrimination in favor of the trusts." Extracts from that campaign book will be printed in a subsequent issue of The Commoner. It is sufficient for present purposes to say that the fact was therein emphasized that it would be necessary to enlarge the powers of the interstate commerce commission in order to provide the people with relief from "an elaborate system of secret rates, rebates, drawbacks, and concessions," all made "to foster monopoly, to enrich favored shippers and to prevent free competition in many lines of trade in which the item of transportation is an important factor."

Judging by the record, it is clear that the democrats have not "become republicans." Mr. Roosevelt and some other distinguished republicans are, however, showing democratic symptoms. The nearer Mr. Roosevelt comes to the position taken by the democratic party with respect to the questions of trusts and corporations, the greater promise will Mr. Roosevelt's administration give of being of practical and material service to the people.

THE SENATE'S PREROGATIVE

In amending the treaties by substituting the word "treaty" for the word "agreement" the senate has taken issue with the president on an important constitutional question. Without reflecting on the president's motives or good intentions, The Commoner feels constrained to endorse the position taken by the senate. The constitutional provision which requires the senate's concurrence in the making of treaties is founded in wisdom and the power asked by the president could not safely be delegated to the executive.

In the multitude of counsellors there is safety.

And we can better delay action than risk a mistake in our dealings with foreign nations. The senate is not only guarding a senatorial prerogative, but it is emphasizing a democratic principle, when it refuses to surrender the senate's right to a voice in the negotiations proposed by

the arbitration treaties. The president need not feel humiliated because he is not permitted to act with as free a hand as a king. He is the head of a government which rests upon the consent of the governed, and recognizes the value of advice from the people's representatives. The fact that the senate is just now under a cloud because of the dominating influence which corporations exert on it ought not to blind the public to the principle involved in the present issue.

Arbitration will not be retarded by the preservation of the senate's right to participate in international negotiations. It is to be hoped that the president will, on reflection, conclude to urge the acceptance by foreign nations of the amended treaties. He will err if he fails to recognize the strength of the senate's position.

INVESTIGATION—ARBITRATION

The amendment of the treaties was not "a step backward," as President Roosevelt described it, and there is no reason why the friends of arbitration should be discouraged. An absolute monarch can, of course, act more quickly than an executive who is controlled by a constitution and compelled to consult a co-ordinate branch of the government, but speed is not the only thing to be considered. The framers of our government well understood the relative merits of the various forms of government and chose to risk the evils of delay in order to secure the greater safety that comes with popular government. Arbitration transfers the settlement of a question to the decision of foreign nations—and what action demands more serious consideration? To transfer to the president the power to decide such questions without consulting the senate would arouse so much opposition and cause so much uneasiness that the arbitration movement would be likely to be retarded rather than accelerated by the adoption of the president's views. One serious mistake would bring a revulsion of feeling that might jeopardize the cause of arbitration.

It is possible, however, to provide for the impartial investigation of any international dispute, leaving the final submission to arbitration to be a matter of treaty. The

president might be authorized to enter into an agreement to submit any and every international dispute to The Hague court for investigation. When the court reports upon the facts and presents the real issue between the parties, then the parties can decide intelligently whether it involves a proper question for arbitration or affects the integrity and honor of either nation. Such an investigation would, in most cases, remove misunderstanding and bring about a reconciliation and public opinion would exert a powerful influence in harmonizing any differences which might be found to exist. Such a plan would do more to promote peace than the plan embodied in the treaties submitted by the president. If such a plan had been in operation the Russian-Japanese war might have been prevented. It is quite certain that a preliminary investigation by an impartial board would have prevented most of the international wars of the last half century, and would be still more effective in the future. The president ought to be satisfied to start the investigation—leaving the arbitration treaty to be made with the concurrence of the senate after the facts are ascertained, and the senate, without any impairment of its rights and powers, could delegate to the president the power to enter into any agreement that he might think proper for full and impartial investigation. Will this plan bring the president and the senate together?

A FEW QUESTIONS ANSWERED

A reader of The Commoner asks a number of questions. While it is not possible to answer in the columns of The Commoner all of the questions that pour in from its many subscribers, the editor of The Commoner desires to answer them as far as time will permit.

The answers will be found following the questions.

1. Why was silver dropped from free coinage in 1873?

Answer. No satisfactory reason has been given, and many members of the senate and house asserted that they did not know that the law of 1873 suspended the free coinage of silver. Those in charge of the bill have often been accused of "smuggling" the provision through.

2. Would our silver dollars buy as much as gold dollars prior to 1873?

Answer. After 1834 and prior to the demonetization act of 1873 the silver dollar was worth about three cents more than the gold dollar, and would exchange for that sum in this country or abroad.

3. Would five standard silver dolars exchange for five dollars in gold prior to 1873?

Answer. The law did not require the treasury department to exchange silver dollars for gold dollars, yet in the market five silver dollars would exchange for more than five dollars in gold.

4. Was the silver and gold in excess of the demand for money prior to 1873?

Answer. No. That they were together insufficient was shown by the issue of paper money—both government money and bank notes.

5. Is the amount of both metals in excess of the demand for money now?

Answer. No. The fact that we not only use both gold and silver, but also some $800,000,000 of paper money, greenbacks, treasury notes and bank notes, is evidence that there is no excess of metallic money today.

6. Was there prior to 1873 more demand for silver dollars than for gold dollars?

Answer. It may not be correct to say that there was more demand for silver dollars, but the existing demand put a premium upon silver dollars as compared to gold dollars, the reason being that the French ratio was 15½ to 1, while ours was 16 to 1.

7. Were Mexican dollars then worth more than our gold dollars?

Answer. Yes.

8. If so, why?

Answer. The Mexican dollar, containing more silver than the American dollar, was, of course, worth more than either our silver or our gold dollars so long as we had the free coinage of silver.

9. Why do all the great commercial nations rate silver fractional currency higher than in standard coin?

Answer. Probably to prevent the exportation of fractional currency. That might not be necessary now since

the bullion value—because of the suspension of free coinage—has fallen below the coinage value. Our own fractional currency was made proportionately lighter than our standard dollar when silver was at a premium, and the reason then given was that the reduction of weight was necessary in order to keep the fractional currency in the country.

10. Did not several of the great commercial nations, prior to '73, give a premium of $30,000 on the million in their coinage of silver above our 16 to 1 coinage?

Answer. Prior to 1873 when France was maintaining the parity at 15½ to 1, our silver bullion sold at a premium of 3 per cent over gold coin, and all of the silver which we exported went abroad at that price.

11. Has the output of the world's gold and silver kept pace with population and commerce?

Answer. It is difficult to answer this question with exactness. During the last ten years there has been a very large increase in the production of gold—an increase greater, probably, than the increase in population, although we have no way of knowing the exact amount required by the arts. As commerce is stimulated by an increased quantity of money, it is impossible to tell whether this stimulation has kept the commercial activity abreast of the increasing money supply.

12. If standard silver dollars are redeemed in gold as President Roosevelt recommends to congress, would not it impose a tax on the people for an amount of gold equal to the amount of silver to be redeemed?

Answer. If the silver dollars, when redeemed, were kept in the treasury and not used, the government would have to replenish its gold reserve by taxation or by an issue of bonds. If gold continues to come into the treasury from the revenue receipts and import duties, and silver or silver certificates are issued in payment of the running expenses of the government, silver dollars can be redeemed without resort to either taxation or a bond issue. But the difficulty is that the financiers can largely regulate the kind of money paid into the treasury, and if they desire more bonds issued they can cause a draining of the gold reserve and thus force more bonds. They can then

raise a cry against the reissue of redeemed silver dollars, and demand the retirement of silver dollars in order to break the "endless chain," as they call it.

There is no reason why the silver dollar should be redeemed in gold. The fact that it is a legal tender is sufficient to maintain it at a parity with gold. To make it redeemable in gold simply puts the treasury department in the hands of the Wall street financiers.

13. Would it not be better to restore free and unlimited coinage, and thereby create the former demand for silver dollars equal to our gold dollars, and also increase our ability to redeem all credit money?

Answer. That is the proposition taken up by the platforms in 1896 and 1900 and the position maintained in the past and at present maintained by The Commoner, although the editor recognizes that the increased production of gold has relieved the strain upon gold, and thus turned the attention of the public, for the time being, to other questions.

14. Since the demand for silver maintained by free coinage was destroyed in 1873, has not the value of our silver bullion decreased $500,000 in the million compared with its value when free coinage prevailed?

Answer. The demonetization of silver has not affected the value of the silver already coined and circulated at full legal tender, but it has reduced the bullion value of silver, and our silver dollars (if melted) would show a loss equal to about half of their nominal value. As long as they circulate as coin, with full legal tender power, they circulate upon a parity with gold.

15. Have not foreign countries since 1873 profited by buying our silver bullion and coining it into money representing double its cost?

Answer. Yes; foreign countries have not only profited by buying silver at a low price and coining it at a higher price, but England as a creditor nation has especially profited, because the demonetization of silver increased the purchasing power of the dollar called for by her contracts, and she has also been able to reduce the gold price of wheat in Liverpool without reducing the silver price of wheat in India.

16. Would not the country be in far more danger of hurtful panics with the single gold standard than with the double standard?

Answer. That is the contention of bimetallists, and the editor of The Commoner believes it to be a sound contention.

17. If we are to have a single standard, would not silver far better meet the requirements of the masses than gold, paper redeemable in silver to be used in large transactions?

Answer. It is not necessary to choose between the gold standard and the silver standard. The double standard is better than either, and would make the United States the clearing house for both the eastern and the western world by maintaining the double standard, thus enabling us to deal with Asia upon a silver basis, and with Europe upon a gold basis. The dislocation of the power of exchange is a serious interference with business, and it is better that the double standard be maintained—either by all the nations or by some strong nation—than that one-half of the world should use silver and the other gold. The use of silver certificates for large transactions removes the objection that has been made to silver because of its weight. In large transactions people prefer paper money to either gold or silver, as shown by the fact that we have now outstanding about the same amount of gold certificates that we have of silver certificates.

LET THE BATTLE BEGIN

The Standard Oil trust seems to have thrown down the gauntlet to the people of Kansas, and the people of Kansas show a disposition to meet the issue.

The Kansas house of representatives, on February 15, by a vote of 91 to 30, adopted a bill providing for the establishment of a state oil refinery. It is announced that Governor Hoch has signed the bill. Under the provisions of this measure, an oil refinery will be erected at Peru, Kan., and a determined effort will be made on the part of the representatives of Kansas people to bring the oil trust to terms.

February 15, the lower house of congress unanimously adopted the following resolution:

> "Resolved, That the secretary of commerce and labor be and is hereby requested to investigate the cause or causes of low prices of petroleum in the United States, especially in the Kansas oil field and unusually large margins between the price of crude oil or petroleum and the selling price of refined oil and its by-products; and whether the said conditions have resulted in whole or in part from any contract, combination in the form of a trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade and commerce among the several states and territories or with foreign countries; also whether the said prices have been controlled, in whole or in part, by any corporation, joint stock company, or corporate combination engaged in commerce among the several states and territories or with foreign nations; also whether such corporation, joint stock company or corporate combination, in purchasing crude oil or petroleum by an order or practice of discrimination, boycotts, blacklists, or in any manner discriminates against any particular oil field; also to investigate the organization, profits, conduct and management of the business of such corporation or corporations, company or companies, and corporate combination, if any, and to make early report of its finding, according to law, to the end that such information may be used by congress as a basis for legislation or by the department of justice as a basis for legal proceedings."

Under date of February 16, the Associated Press announced that President Roosevelt had directed James R. Garfield, commissioner of corporations of the department of commerce and labor, to begin immediately the oil investigation requested by the house of representatives. The Associated Press said: "The investigation by the direction of the president will be rigid and comprehensive. The inquiry will be pressed as rapidly as possible. The scope of the investigation and the time it will occupy can not be indicated at this time."

For many years the Standard Oil trust has interfered with American government. That trust has made large contributions to republican campaign funds and has assumed to defeat those candidates for public office upon whom the trust magnates could not depend. The oil trust has frequently grappled with competitors and in every instance those competitors have been crushed. Every effort made by this great trust in the way of advancing its monopoly has been successful and it is not at all surprising that the managers of that great trust have become so bold that they dare defy the people of a state and challenge them to serious combat.

It is gratifying to learn that the people of Kansas are not disposed to submit to the impositions which the Standard Oil trust would put upon them; it is gratifying to learn that the lower house of congress has, by unanimous vote, declared itself to be in favor of the Kansas people; and more than all, it is gratifying that the president of the United States has acted promptly, showing that his sympathy is clearly with the people of Kansas in the great contest they are about to wage with the most powerful of commercial organizations.

Every little helps in a contest of this kind. But more important than all is the fact that the president of the United States has acted promptly and acted in a way that gives reason for the hope that he will employ all the great power and influence at his command to protect the people of a great western state from the impudent encroachments of a merciless monopoly.

President Roosevelt has the power to give victory to the Kansas people in this great struggle. He will readily discover that for his patriotic efforts he has the cordial endorsement of men of all political parties. It is safe to speak for the great mass of the American people, for the rank and file of all political organizations, and to say that in the support given to the president of the United States in the effort he makes against the encroachments of a monopoly: "We are all republicans, we are all democrats, we are all populists, and we are all independents!"

If Kansas is to be the fighting field, let the battle begin.

UNSAFE BANKING

The investigation of the affairs of the German bank of Buffalo has brought to light the fact that Appleyard, the Boston financier, who looted the bank, bought a controlling interest in the bank for $138,500 and thus obtained control of $6,000,000 of deposits. It ought to be evident to any reasonable man that banking will be unsafe just as long as a bank is allowed to accept deposits so far in excess of its captial stock. The margin between the bank's assets and its deposits is often too small to furnish adequate security and the temptation, as in the Appleyard case, is too great to unscrupulous promoters to get control of the stock in order to use the deposits. A fixed proportion should be established between the capital and the deposits.

PARTIES A NECESSITY

A reader of THE COMMONER writes that he heartily believes in most of the principles advocated by THE COMMONER, but asks if the editor of THE COMMONER is not "too much of a party man?" He refers to the last campaign and intimates that the editor of THE COMMONER should have opposed the democratic ticket.

The party has a place and a necessary place in American politics. People must act together in order to secure the enactment of a law or the accomplishment of any reform. Without party organization there would be more bossism than there is today, because a few prominent men would have to assume the responsibility of directing public movements. With party organizations in good working order and properly governed it is possible for the voters of the party to initiate policies and select candidates. Every voter ought to belong to some party, and in choosing a party he ought to select that party which, all things considered, offers the best opportunity of securing the application to government of the political principles in which he believes and the adoption of the policies he believes to be best for the country.

Unless a man belongs to a party he is left merely to choose between the candidates and platforms presented

by the various parties, while the member of the party helps to frame the platform and to name the candidate. Having connected himself with a party the voter ought not to leave his party except for a substantial reason, for by connecting himself with the party he takes upon himself the implied obligation to act with the party so long as the party is true to its principles and avowed purpose. It is not to be expected that each platform will in all respects please every member of the party. The members of a party, while agreeing in a general purpose and subscribing to a code of fundamental principles, may differ widely in the application of those principles. And after a person has tried to make a platform exactly what he desires to have it represent, he accepts it if on the whole it comes nearer to representing his views than any other platform.

In like manner the member of a party must expect that the nomination may sometimes be disappointing to him. If the members of a party are to have a clear voice in the selection of a candidate, it must be expected that differences of judgment will often result in the selection of a candidate acceptable to a majority but not the first choice of a minority. This is not sufficient to justify a man in leaving his party if the candidate is himself worthy of support and on the whole preferable to the candidate of any other party.

Aside from these general principles which govern members of parties, there is another rule that has to be considered. Whether a man feels it his duty to leave his party or not depends somewhat upon his judgment as to the party's future. If he has confidence in the good purpose of a majority of his party, he is more inclined to excuse a mistake than he is if he believes the party has outlived its usefulness. A party cannot be held together for any great length of time after the members of the party have made up their minds that the party has entered upon a permanent decline. While a party has hope, even though its progress is small, men will cling to it; when hope is gone the party disintegrates rapidly.

Men may leave a party temporarily with an expectation of returning to it, or they may simply refuse to vote at all, thereby expressing dissatisfaction without indicating

any intention to join another party, or they may refuse to support a particular candidate on the ground that he is personally unfit and on the ground that his election would not strengthen the party's position or advance the principles of the party.

Applying these principles to the last campaign we find that a few left the democratic party because they had either changed themselves or had become discouraged by continued democratic defeat. Some of these went to the republican party, some to the populist party, and some to the socialist party. A much greater number left the party temporarily, voting some other ticket as a protest against the action of the St. Louis convention. Some of those who voted the socialist ticket did so, not because of any intention to ally themselves permanently with the socialist party, but to signify their desire to have the democratic party more radical than it was in the last campaign. Some voted the populist ticket because Mr. Watson represented some of the reforms for which the democratic party had been contending. Some voted the republican ticket either to emphasize their rebuke of the democratic party or because they had faith that Mr. Roosevelt would initiate some reforms.

The great majority of the democrats, however, voted the ticket, and the editor of The Commoner was one of this number. About 80 per cent of the voting strength of the democratic party was cast for the democratic candidate, and a considerable majority of the democratic votes was cast in the republican states of the north. Those who voted the ticket did not by so doing express themselves as satisfied with the platform or the ticket. They, many of them, simply declared that they had faith in the future, usefulness of the party and believed that Judge Parker, if elected, would secure certain reforms—reforms important enough to justify support at the polls. The editor of The Commoner had occasion to make his position known both through the papers and on the stump. Judge Parker opposed imperialism, which alone justified the support of those who believe imperialism to be a menace to this country. He stood for a reduction of the army, which also gave him a claim to the support of those who fear imperialism. Judge Parker was opposed to the spirit of war

which characterizes those who, like the president, are deluded with the belief that the spirit of peace can be promoted by rivalry in the building of war ships.

While on some economic questions there was not as much difference between the candidates as there ought to have been, still the democratic platform was in every respect better than the republican platform wherever it touched upon economic questions. The editor of THE COMMONER reserved until the convention acted his decision in regard to the support of the ticket, but when the convention concluded its work he had no doubt as to his duty. The platform was much better than he had expected the convention to adopt, and it was apparent from the action of those in attendance upon the convention that, while they yielded to the tempting promises held out by the eastern democrats, they were sound in heart and purpose. He felt when the convention closed—and the conviction has been increased during the months that have elapsed since the convention—that he can be of more service to his country acting with the millions of democrats who desire to make the party the exponent of an earnest democratic sentiment and the champion of positive and aggressive reforms, than he could by allying himself with any other party.

The election returns show that in spite of the strong reasons for the support of the democratic ticket a good many democrats—something like 20 per cent—refused to countenance the attempt at conservatism. Those who urge conservatism defended their position entirely by arguments based upon the prospect of success. The overwhelming defeat which met this concession to conservatism ends the experiment.

The radical element of the party has been reinforced since the election by those who were willing to risk the attempt to secure a part of the democratic creed by abandoning a part. And even the conservatives have been compelled to admit the fallacy of their own reasoning. The president has very much strengthened the radical element of the democratic party by espousing some of the reforms upon which the conservative democrats were weakest, and the growing public sentiment in favor of reform is educating democrats who were right in their sympathies but

uninformed upon some of the problems to be met. The democratic party has an important work to do, and its future is brighter than at any time since 1892. It was necessary to go through the struggle which in 1896 put the democratic party upon advanced ground. The temporary retreat made by the party in 1904 has taught a salutary lesson—a lesson which probably could not be taught in any other way.

Ever since 1896 the radical element of the party was blamed for the party defeat. It was unreasonable to blame the radical element when under its leadership the party polled nearly a million more votes than it had ever polled before, and did this in two successive campaigns. Under conservative leadership the party fell off a million and a quarter votes, and this slump in the vote has taught what reason and logic should have taught. Experience is a dear teacher, but, as someone has said, many will not learn in any other school.

Experience has shown that the democratic party must be a progressive party if it is to maintain its position, and unless all signs fail, it will enter the next campaign with an honest platform, dealing candidly with all the questions before the public and appealing to the conscience of the country. The editor of The Commoner is in a better position to assist in the next campaign because of the position which he took in the last campaign. And just so long as he follows the course that promises the maximum of usefulness he satisfies his own conscience and can accept without complaint the kindly criticism of friends and the unfair criticism of enemies.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP VINDICATED

The administration has not only endorsed the democratic policy on the question of railroad regulation and in regard to requiring an interstate commerce corporation to take out a federal license, but it has gone farther and endorsed a populist policy in acquiring a government railroad. If Mr. Bryan had not last summer announced himself in favor of the public ownership of railroads he would have suffered the mortification of seeing the repub-

licans pass him on the reform highway, but he is in position to welcome them to this advanced ground. Of course the republicans say that the conditions are exceptional in the case of the Panama railroad, but that makes no difference. The right of the government to own and operate a railroad is established and necessity or advisability of exercising the right is the only question left open to dispute. If the government has a right to own and operate a railroad in Panama, connecting the oceans, it has a right to own and operate a road in the United States, connecting the oceans, and it can proceed to build or buy such a road whenever the people are convinced that public interests can be promoted thereby. The precedent is established and a precedent is a potent thing in legislation. The right of the people to protect themselves like the right of self-defense in the individual, is a paramount right and can always be resorted to. In Kansas the people have resorted to a state oil refinery for self-protection; if necessary they can build a pipe line or a railroad to carry the oil to the refinery or from the refinery to market. If they can do this for oil they can do it for wheat, oats, corn or cattle. This reserve power enables the people to defend themselves against monopolies of every kind. For years the people of the various states have tried to regulate railroad rates, but they have found the railroad lobbyist ever present with his pocket full of passes and other "persuaders." A few state railroad lines would have done more to regulate railroad rates than all the laws that have been passed. The United States judges have usually been prompt to suspend such laws but the United States courts can not suspend the right of a state to regulate rates by building a competing line. One of the purposes of the Isthmian canal is to regulate transcontinental rates—a thing that could be done more cheaply and more effectively by a transcontinental line. The canal can only reduce through rates on things that can stand a long sea voyage, while a transcontinental line owned and operated by the government could reduce local rates as well as through rates on everything. There are other reasons besides the reduction of through rates to justify a canal—it would be an inexcusable expense to build it for that purpose alone.

A plan for public ownership, like that presented by The Commoner, which contemplates the federal ownership of trunk lines and the state ownership of the network of local railroads, gives the people of both state and nation the means of protecting themselves against the extortion and discriminations practiced by the railroads. The plan can be adopted in whole or in part whenever public necessities require. Today the government adopts it in Panama, tomorrow Kansas may adopt it in her fight against the oil trust. Pennsylvania could draw the fangs of the anthracite coal trust in short order by building a state road connecting the coal fields with Philadelphia or some other distributing point. Other illustrations suggest themselves but enough has been said to show that the people are more powerful than the corporations whenever they see fit to use their reserve powers.

"FRENZIED FINANCE" IN INSURANCE

It seems that President James W. Alexander and nearly all the heads of departments joined in a request to James H. Hyde, the vice-president and owner of a controlling interest in the stock of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, demanding Hyde's resignation and such a change in the rules of the corporation as will permit the policy holders to have a voice in the election of directors. It seems that young Hyde, inheriting the stock of his father without his father's good sense, has been engaging in speculation schemes and leading a frivolous life to the embarrassment of those who are identified with the management of the company, and these men declared they would resign if the control was not taken out of Mr. Hyde's hands. Mr. Alexander and his associates also demanded the retirement of Jacob Schiff because he has used his position to make the company buy twenty-two million dollars worth of bonds of a Wall street firm with which Mr. Schiff is connected.

"Frenzied Finance" is getting a good deal of airing nowadays and the sober judgment of men like Mr. Alexander can discern a day of settlement if a change is not made in the policy of the Equitable. It is a heroic step

and the fact that the men who take it place their high salaried positions in the balance shows how serious has been Mr. Hyde's offenses. All these exposures are doing good; they are awakening the country to the iniquities of Wall street and following the awakening will come reform. It seems that the democrats, instead of overstating the case, have scarcely been severe enough in their condemnation of the methods of the Wall street speculators, exploiters and grafters. The people are getting ready to do something and the democratic party is getting ready to help them.

At a meeting of the Equitable directors held February 6, Mr. Alexander was re-elected president and Mr. Hyde was re-elected vice-president. This was done after Mr. Hyde had consented to the retirement of the stock and to the "mutualization" of the company, which it is explained means that all policy holders have the right to vote. A committee of seven was chosen and this committee will report April 12.

A LOW PLANE

The inaugural address of Edward C. Stokes, governor of New Jersey, has attracted general attention. Referring to the financial condition of the state of New Jersey, which state is commonly known as a breeding place for trusts, the governor said:

> "At the close of the last fiscal year, the balance in the treasury amounted to $2,940,918.98. The ordinary receipts for the same year amounted to $4,302,370.61, of which nearly 78 per cent or $3,351,543.69 came from railroads and the business companies domiciled in our state. Of the entire income of the government, not a penny was contributed directly by the people, yet all of it was expended for their benefit and in their interest.
>
> "The state is caring for the blind, the feeble-minded and the insane, supporting our prisons and reformatories, educating the younger generations, developing a magnificent road system (embracing quite one-third of the macadam or state roads of the

United States) maintaining the state government and courts of justice, all of which would be at the direct expense of our citizens as taxpayers, except for our present fiscal policy.

"Last year out of every one hundred dollars expended by the state $22.00 was given to the taxpayers, $6.50 for education, $30.00 for charities and correction, $7.00 for militia, $6.00 for public roads, $5.50 for the courts, $2.50 for the soldiers and $1.20 for agriculture. To this extent did the people draw benefits from the state treasury without financial contribution thereto. To have raised last year by direct taxation the income of the state, would have imposed upon property a tax rate of over four-tenths or nearly one-half of 1 per cent; to have raised the amount that comes from railroads, and corporations alone would have imposed upon property a tax rate of over three-tenths of 1 per cent."

Having thus described New Jersey's excellent financial condition, the governor says that the question is: "Shall we continue our present fiscal system, or on the other hand, shall we tax the people for the support of our state government, our courts of justice, our educational and humanitarian institutions, our prisons and our good roads?" The governor says: "We cannot maintain our revenues if we destroy their source," and he adds: "There is little doubt that the public prefer the present method rather than a policy that would compel them to pay the present state income out of their own pockets."

Then, in the light of the fact that these corporations pay about 78 per cent of New Jersey's income, it is of no moment that the New Jersey policy has fostered a great iniquity and has heaped imposition upon the people of all the states.

If Governor Stokes has correctly described popular sentiment in New Jersey, then we must believe that the people of that state would rather perpetuate a wrong upon the general public than pay their own taxes.

Democrats have been met with sneers when they have used the phrase, "putting the dollar above the man." Perhaps we will be pardoned on this occasion for employing that phrase merely for the purpose of saying that if

Governor Stokes has faithfully portrayed New Jersey sentiment, the people of that state have placed the dollar far above the man and have reduced what should be a great moral question to the low plane of "will it pay?"

ATTACKING POPULAR GOVERNMENT

The *Chicago Tribune* is opposing the initiative and referendum on the ground that it is not safe to trust the people. It denies "the invariable wisdom of the committee voting as a whole." It dreams of Athenian mobs and demagogues and fears that the masses could not intelligently decide such questions as, "Should the moon be made of Canadian or Swiss cheese?" etc. This is the poison which some of the republican papers are insidiously administering to their readers—poison that lays destructive hold upon the vital forces of the body politic. While provision should be made against hasty or sudden action, there is no argument that can be drawn from history or from human nature against popular government. The nearer the government is brought to the people the safer, the stronger, the purer it is. The editor of the *Tribune* ought to read Bancroft's defense of popular government in his address entitled "The People in Art, Government and Religion." It will be found in the seventh volume of "Reed's Modern Eloquence."

LAFOLLETTE'S OPPORTUNITY

Governor LaFollette is a lucky man; the failure of the senate to act on the railroad bill at the present session will give LaFollette his opportunity. He enters the senate just at the time when public attention is turned to the railroad question with which he has been dealing for several years. In ability, in courage and in experience he will easily be the leader of the anti-monopoly element in the republican party in the senate and he can furnish the president just what the president badly needs in that body, namely, an aggressive spokesmanship. Usually a new senator has to wait a dignified time before

entering actively upon his duties, but dignity gives way to necessity and with a strong anti-monopoly sentiment eager for expression Wisconsin's new senator could not, will not, keep out of the fight if he would.

Governor LaFollette has the prestige of a succession of victories over the corporate influences of his own state and as he will face in the senate the men who turned him out of the last republican national convention he is not likely to allow senatorial courtesy to delay his attack on the railroad contingent. So far as he is concerned it makes little difference whether he wins his fight in the next congress or in the congress to be elected in 1906—the longer the fight lasts the more conspicuous will become his part, and that he will ultimately win admits of no doubt. Circumstances have much to do with the success of a public man and just now circumstances are leading La-Follette into a contest from which he is bound to emerge with new honors if he champions—as his friends expect him to—the interests of the masses on the railroad and kindred questions.

A WORD AS TO COLLEGES

A reader of The Commoner, recognizing the danger that private colleges, endowed by capitalists, may be biased in their teaching, makes an argument in favor of the public schools and the state universities. There is room for both the public college cared for by the state and the private college supported in such a way as to make it free to teach economic truth. The state university can furnish some advantages which the small college cannot furnish, but the small college can supply certain advantages which the larger school cannot furnish.

One advantage about the small colleges is that there can be more of them and that they can be located at convenient points so as to reach a larger number of students. They can also furnish an education at a smaller sum than it is furnished by the larger institutions, either state or private. The cost of tuition is not the only expense that the student has to bear. For instance, at Yale col-

lege the cost of board and room is considerably greater than the cost of board, room and tuition at some of the small colleges.

Then, too, there can be a religious instruction in the private colleges which is not possible in the public institutions. Those who oppose sectarianism in education ought to be satisfied to keep sectarianism out of public schools. They ought not to insist upon closing schools in which the student is brought up in a religious atmosphere.

There is room in this country for both the large college and the small college—room for the public institution and the denominational college. It is not necessary that a war of extermination should be waged between them. A healthy rivalry is apt to help both.

"PROGRESS AND POVERTY" DINNER

It was Mr. Bryan's good fortune to attend the dinner given in New York on January 24 to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication of Henry George's great work entitled "Progress and Poverty." The book has, within a quarter of a century, been translated in every prominent language and has exerted a tremendous influence upon the economic thought of the world.

Hamlin Garland presided; Henry George, Jr., gave a history of the writing of the book; Mr. Markham read a poem entitled "The Deathless Dead;" Wm. Lloyd Garrison presented a "Plea for Justice;" Mr. Louis Post discussed "The Economic Issue," and Mr. Bryan submitted a few remarks on "Equality of Opportunity," and incidentally referred to the fact that Tolstoy had spoken to him in praise of two Americans—George and Garrison, whose sons were then at the banquet table. It was a memorable dinner, attended by many prominent in sociological work. The very air seemed to pulsate with moral enthusiasm.

AN OLD SENTIMENT

The following sentiment, expressed some two hundred years ago, is worthy of remembrance:

"If Reason's reach transcends the sky,
Why should it then to earth be bound?
The wit is wrong and led awry
If mind be married to the ground."

No one is able to take a comprehensive view of life who does not consider the moral as well as the intellectual and physical man.

NO AGE LIMIT

Dr. William Osler, the Johns Hopkins professor who has accepted a call to Oxford University, declared in his farewell address that a man above forty is practically useless, and that a man over sixty is so absolutely worthless that a humane dose of chloroform ought to be administered to him. That statement aroused a storm of protest and helped to reconcile the country to the learned doctor's departure. Of course, the theory is absurd from any standpoint, but it is especially significant as showing the standpoint from which this eminent physician views the subject. In measuring a man he employs only physical and mental standards, ignoring entirely man's moral force and development, which ought to increase with the years. Even from physical and mental standpoints the doctor is grossly in error, for much physical work is done by men above forty and excellent mental work is done by men above sixty. But why pass over the spiritual life of a man? Does science look no farther than to muscle and brain? The heart of man demands recognition, and it is young at forty, strong at sixty and often does its best work after three score years and ten have passed over the head of its possessor.

Nestor complained that the gods do not bestow the wisdom of years until they have withdrawn the vigor of youth. Dr. Osler's theory places a higher estimate upon vigor than upon wisdom, forgetting that the former may be worse than wasted if not directed by the latter. And he would deprive the young of the inspiration that comes

from communion with those who, growing riper in experience and broader in sympathy, prove anew that "the path of the just is like the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." This old world would lose an incalculable amount of love and benevolence and helpful service if Dr. Osler's brutal suggestions were put into practice. But no fear. We shall have more reverence for age and a deeper appreciation of its contribution to society the more we consider the matter. The doctor has become so absorbed in anatomy that he is oblivious to the soul and to the influences that act upon it.

CHICAGO'S PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY

The democrats of Chicago have nominated Judge E. F. Dunne for mayor on a municipal ownership platform. The issue presented by the democrats is one on which they can in time carry every one of the cities, and so much educational work has already been done in Chicago that Judge Dunne has an excellent chance of success this year. The platform declares the issue to be whether the expressed will of the citizens of Chicago or the interests of a Wall street syndicate shall control the city's policy in dealing with the street car question. It demands that the people now assert their rights and proceed to bring about municipal ownership and operation of street car lines, gas plants, electric light plants and telephone systems.

Here is an honest and straightforward platform and with an honest and straightforward candidate like Judge Dunne there ought to be no question about the result. Success to the democratic candidate and his platform!

THAT BADEN REPORT

The Washington correspondent for the *New York Evening Post* says that there is just now "a disposition to emphasize the bulwark which the senate affords with its two-thirds republican majority against any form of radicalism." It has been complained that the president

could not accomplish anything in the radical line so long as this bulwark stood, but the *Post's* correspondent says that this is an erroneous idea. He explains:

> "One thing which a radical president could do with abundant precedent, that is somewhat overlooked, is the setting into motion on his side of all the government agencies for educating public opinion, such as statistics and consular reports. Only a few days ago a consul in Baden sent a report on the government ownership of railroads there which would make converts rapidly to that idea in this country. Were such a propaganda to be undertaken seriously there is no knowing how far it might go in affecting public sentiment, for it is a cardinal American theory that we can do what any other people on earth can do, when as a matter of fact, because of the political system which we have developed, we fail in many things where the older nations succeed."

But why should anyone object to the plan of "educating public opinion?" Are not the American people entitled to know the truth and to be informed of the experience other people have had with reforms that are now suggested in a serious way for our own government?

The American consul at Baden draws a very complimentary picture of government ownership in that country. Indeed, the picture is so attractive that the *Post's* correspondent admits that it "would make converts rapidly to that idea in this country."

If government ownership will not stand the test of study and investigation, then it will not commend itself to intelligent men. Why, then, do the opponents of that plan object to "educating public opinion" on that subject?

Should not even the most "conservative" of presidents set into motion all the government agencies for "educating public opinion?"

The report made by our consul in Baden seems to be a very important document, yet it will be observed that so far wide publicity has not been given that document.

Would it not be well for the administration to circulate this report very freely among the people, on the theory that they are entitled to all possible information on a subject concerning which public interest is now aroused?

The *Post's* correspondent seems to object to the dissemination of information such as is contained in the report made by our Baden consul and he bases his objection on the idea that "such a propaganda" undertaken seriously in this country might have a far-reaching effect so far as public sentiment is concerned. The *Post* correspondent admits that "it is a cardinal American theory that we can do what any other people on earth can do," yet this writer assumes to say that "as a matter of fact, because of the political system which we have developed, we fail in many things where the older nations succeed." At least this writer will not undertake to seriously deny the correctness of the "cardinal American theory," that our government was established with the view of providing the greatest good to the greatest number and that with the people was reposed the power to protect the welfare of the many against the encroachments of the few.

If the people, in their anxiety to protect themselves, incline toward government ownership, have they not the right to obtain information concerning the experience of other people with that reform? Who shall deny them access to the truth on the theory that they have no reason to believe that in a great governmental enterprise, designed for the abolishment of evils and the alleviation of embarrassments, the people of a monarchy succeed where the people of a republic would fail?

TIME LIMIT MARRIAGES

A Kansas legislator named Smith has introduced a bill in the Kansas legislature providing a time limit for marriages. Instead of being united "until death do us part" the husband and wife agree to live together for ten years, at which time the marriage relation ceases unless by mutual agreement it is extended for a further period of ten years. Without this mutual agreement for an extension, the parties become divorced, the property is divided, and the courts are authorized to make such arrangements as may be proper regarding the custody of the children.

The suggestion has received a great deal of newspaper attention, not because the measure is likely to pass, but because it is novel. The author of the bill says that he prepared it "at the request of a delegation of women. whose names he is not at liberty to divulge."

The mere mention of such a measure will serve a useful purpose in that it will call attention to the sacredness of the home and of the marriage ties. Certainly we shall have drifted far away from the ideal when marriage becomes a mere partnership, entered into by the contracting parties for a limited period, as two persons would engage in the conduct of a store or in the raising of corn or cattle. If it is said that each of the parties would be more considerate of the other in the hope of securing an extension of the marriage period, it may be replied that consideration due to such a motive is not to be compared with the consideration that is due to real affection. The basis of such a limited copartnership would be selfishness; the basis of a genuine marriage is love. Selfishness begets selfishness, suspicion and discord, while love begets love, confidence and concord. Much as our loose divorce laws are to be condemned, they are infinitely better than a law which would make the residence a counting house or shop, rather than a home.

What we need just now is not an egoism that will regard marriage as an irksome restraint, but a spirit of self-denial and self-sacrifice that will harmonize differences, smooth the rough places and weld together into closer and closer union the hearts of husband and wife, parent and child.

Aside from the interest that husband and wife have in this question, the child's interest alone would be an unanswerable argument against the proposed innovation. The filial relation that exists, or ought to exist, between parent and child would be materially changed if the child, from the time it was old enough to consider such things, lived in constant uncertainty as to which parent it would be called upon to desert for the other. It is likely to be some time yet before the commandment "Honor thy father and thy mother" is amended by adding "until they separate, then honor the one with whom you choose to go unless the court assigns you to the other."

At the risk of seeming old fogy, The Commoner begs to express its preference for the marriage that contemplates a life-long union of two congenial spirits with the hope that they will not be dissevered in the world beyond.

ARBITRATION

Governor Adams of Colorado, in his inaugural message, urged the establishment of a permanent state board of arbitration, saying:

"While strikes may not be forbidden, we may dream of the reign of justice, we may hope for conditions and laws that will make strikes unnecessary. First among those enactments in obedience to the expressed mandate of the people should be an honest eight-hour law. This both parties promised the people. Let the promise be kept.

"Next, an amendment to the arbitration law requiring a compulsory submission of any grievance or difference between employer and employes. This is not compulsory arbitration, nor does it lead to a compulsory decree, but it does compel a conference, and where the parties to an industrial conflict honestly confer, a settlement is almost certain. Such a measure would clip the power of an arbitrary superintendent or manager to order a lockout without reason, or of an equally arbitrary walking delegate to incite a strike without justification.

"John Mitchell said 'that in the coal industries there had never been a strike where the parties had conferred before the strike had been ordered, and that there had never been a strike except where either employer or employe had refused to confer.' If this be true in the coal industries, it will be no less true in other avenues of productive labor. If peace and harmony can be secured by a conference of conflicting interests, the public welfare makes it the duty of the state to compel such conference.

"There is seldom difference enough between the parties to an industrial dispute to justify the widespread disaster that often follows a conflict. It is

not infrequently the case that obstinacy or pure selfishness precipitates labor troubles that affect not only the few hundred directly concerned, but many thousand in collateral industries. In Colorado we have had labor difficulties that have affected the welfare and prosperity of at least one-half of the entire population of the state. The rights of these hundreds of thousands of non-combatants are certainly entitled to respect and protection, and if all interests can be protected by compulsory submission, it becomes the imperative duty of our law-makers to investigate and enact."

The distinction between compulsory submission of a dispute to arbitration and the enforced acceptance of the findings is well drawn. There ought to be a compulsory submission of every dispute to arbitration when either party asks for arbitration. It is not necessary to compel an acceptance of the finding. In nearly every case public opinion will compel an acceptance of the finding if the board is believed to be impartial. Governor Adams does not go into details but the legislature in carrying out the recommendation should see to it that the board is so constituted as to insure fairness. If the permanent board is composed of three they should be so selected as to represent employers, employes and that large body of people not strictly in either class. It would be well to provide for the appointment by the board of two extra members to act in the case under consideration—one to be recommended by each side. Each side would then be sure to be represented on the board and a minority report could be presented if the representative of either side thought justice had not been done. Arbitration is the only remedy for labor troubles and Governor Adams deserves credit for the emphatic stand he has taken upon the subject.

SWAYNE ACQUITTED; SENATE CONVICTED

The senate has acquitted Judge Swayne but it has convicted itself. When it declares that his conduct was not impeachable it subscribes to his standard of official morality and the members must not complain if the public as-

sume that the senators voting for acquittal would do as Swayne did under similar circumstances. The house by presenting articles of impeachment has shown itself more solicitous than the senate about the honor of the judiciary, and the vote in both houses shows that the democrats insist upon a higher standard than the republicans. The senate's reputation was already bad enough; this new confession of guilt still further impairs it. However, it furnishes additional proof of the desirability of the popular election of senators. When the people select their senators as they now select their members of congress the senators will be more sensitive to arguments addressed to conscience and integrity.

THE PRIMARY PLEDGE—ORGANIZE NOW

Mr. Bryan has been in receipt of a multitude of letters since the election urging organization for the campaign of 1908. The rank and file of the party are ready to begin the fight; they only await a plan of co-operation. This plan has been under consideration for some weeks and is herewith submitted:

Let each democrat pledge himself to attend all of the primaries of his party to be held between now and the next democratic national convention, unless unavoidably prevented, and to use his influence to secure a clear, honest and straightforward declaration of the party's position on every question upon which the voters of the party desire to speak.

This plan does not involve the writing of a platform in advance of the primaries; it does not rest upon the paramount importance of any one issue. It recognizes the right of the democratic voters to control the policy of the democratic party, and to determine its position upon public questions. It also recognizes the importance of honesty and sincerity in politics.

This proposition will appeal to all who believe in the rule of the people—to all who are willing that the majority shall govern in party management and in the nation. It does not mean that those who exert themselves to secure a good platform will be bound to support a bad plat-

form—that is a question which each must determine for himself—but it does mean that the democratic platform shall give voice to the prevailing sentiment of the democratic party, and that the party shall take the country into its confidence. The pledge proposed is a primary pledge —because the people speak at the primaries. The national convention is attended by delegates and each delegate represents tens of thousands of democrats. The state convention is also attended by delegates, and these represent thousands of democrats. The county conventions are, as a rule, attended by delegates, and these in turn represent hundreds of democrats. At the primary the voters speak for themselves; there democracy has its citadel.

When the work of organization is sufficiently advanced, a time can be set for the meeting of the members in their various localities. The members of this organization, while pledged to but one thing—namely, attendance upon the primaries—are urged to co-operate among themselves for the support of every effort put forth to eliminate corruption in politics. No cause can prosper permanently that does not appeal to the moral sense of the country, and the moral sense of the country is now being awakened to the importance of purifying politics.

The Commoner will do its part in aiding every movement that has for its object the ascertainment of the will of the people and the scrupulous enforcement of that will.

The Commoner will also furnish all the information that it can upon the questions which are before the public to the end that its readers may be prepared to render the maximum of assistance to every worthy cause.

Who will be the first to make this pledge? A record will be kept in The Commoner office of the name and address of each person who enters into this movement. Those desiring to be enrolled can either write approving the object of the organization, and asking to have their names entered on the roll, or they may fill out and mail the blank which will be found upon another page.

The Commoner will be pleased to publish a limited number of brief letters on this subject. Mr. Bryan is encouraged by his correspondence to believe there will be a prompt and hearty response to the above proposition.

Newspapers favoring the plan outlined are requested to reproduce this editorial together with the primary pledge as it appears on page 11 of this issue. They may request their readers to sign this pledge and forward the same either to The Commoner or to the office of their local democratic paper. In the latter event these pledges may then be forwarded in bulk to The Commoner office where they will be duly recorded.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL

George S. Boutwell, who died recently at his home in Groton, Mass., had an eventful career. He served as governor of Massachusetts, and represented that state in the lower house, was chosen senator and served as secretary of the treasury under President Grant's administration. At the time of his death he was eighty-seven years of age. Until the last he was active in public affairs and, in fact, retired from the practice of law only two years ago.

Governor Boutwell was a man of strong convictions. He took a pronounced position against the republican administration's policy with respect to "our new possessions," and was one of the active leaders among the anti-imperialists. Although a republican, he supported the democratic national ticket in 1900 because of the party's opposition to imperialism. Governor Boutwell served his country and while he lived to a ripe age and was given opportunity to do a great work, those who appreciate his ability and unfaltering purpose in the cause of righteousness, will keenly regret his death.

A LANDMARK IN DANGER

Mr. Bryan recently had an opportunity to visit the old block house, built before the revolution, at the point where the Allegheny and the Monongahela unite to form the Ohio. It is an historic spot and was of great strategic value to the colonists in the struggle for the possession of what was then called the west. Washington's first

military reputation was won near there, he recognizing it as the key to the country beyond the Alleghenies. The block house is all that is left to mark the place, and this with a piece of land about one hundred feet square is now owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution, the gift of Mrs. Mary E. Schenley, but the Pennsylvania railroad is now buying land around it and unless rescued it will soon be surrounded by freight houses. The triangle formed by the two rivers and a line drawn east of the block house is not large and the city of Pittsburg could well afford to buy or condemn the ground and make it a public park—a perpetual breathing space for, and an inspiration to, the people. Unless the city council has been grossly slandered it has been very generous in giving streets and river fronts to the Pennsylvania railroad. Why not some generosity in preserving this historic ground for the benefit of future generations? The street car companies have probably received enough in franchises to justify them in buying the plat and presenting it to the public for a park, and there are many Pittsburg millionaires—not to speak of Mr. Carnegie—who could buy it out of their annual income without missing the expenditure. If the city council will not do it and the millionaires refuse, the Pittsburg papers might assist the Daughters to purchase it by popular subscription. There ought to be enough patriotic spirit in Pittsburg to save this spot from encroachments of commercialism.

A FEW ROCKEFELLERISMS

The following incidents will serve to throw a side-light upon John D. Rockefeller and his business methods:

One who was for years an intimate business associate thus described Mr. Rockefeller in the early days of the Standard Oil company: "When a rival came in Mr. Rockefeller would put on a long face and complain that business was bad and getting worse. He would finally suggest to the visitor that he, the visitor, was fortunate in being able to sell out while the Standard company was unfortunate in having so much property that it could not close up its business. After getting favorable terms he

would 'reluctantly' (?) buy the rival's plant and then, when the rival had departed, would lock the door and dance around the office laughing and exclaiming, 'We've got another one, we've got another one.' "

One day when one of his associates asked for information in regard to the company's business, Mr. Rockefeller drew three circles, one within another. Pointing to the largest zone he said that several of the members of the company were in there; in the second zone he put others, among them the one to whom he was talking. Pointing to the space enclosed within the smallest circle he said, "Only John D. is in here." Mr. Rockefeller tells with evident enjoyment how he went into the smoking compartment of a car and "smoked out" the occupants with a pipe and some catarrh cure—the last man to retire informing him that "no gentleman would treat a company of gentlemen in that way."

Deception, secrecy and indifference to the rights and feelings of others—these have always characterized the Standard, but it looks as if it took in too much territory when it tackled Kansas.

PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL DISAPPOINTING

President Roosevelt's inaugural address was disappointing. Ushered into the highest office within the gift of man and assuming the responsibilities of a position to which he was chosen by an overwhelming plurality, he had the opportunity of a lifetime—and he did not improve it. There is not a sentiment in the address to lift it above the commonplace—not a sentence that will be quoted. With the people marshalling for a hand-to-hand struggle with plutocracy there is no bugle call—no inspiring or encouraging word. In so far as emphasis is placed on anything it is placed on warlike preparation to meet an imaginary foe. He talks as if this nation, after being unmolested for nearly a century, was about to be menaced by the combined navies of Europe.

In so far as he refers to domestic problems he deals in generalities and uses phrases which may be construed to mean anything or nothing. His friends must regret

that he has failed to give the world a state paper of high merit and those interested in reform will see in the address an evidence of weakening in his fight against corporate aggression. The party leaders have been using the "harmony" argument on him and warning him that an attempt to secure any radical legislation will result in a split in his party. If the inaugural throws any light on the subject at all it indicates that the harmony argument is having its effect.

CORPORATIONS NEED RESTRICTION

Recent developments show the necessity for more stringent laws regulating corporations. Many of the evils complained of come from the fact that the same person is permitted to be a director in several competing corporations or in corporations having dealings with each other. The result is that such a person is constantly dealing with himself and his own pecuniary interests prevent a "square deal." A director can not serve two masters; he is bound to sacrifice the interests of some of those for whom he acts. The quarrel between Carnegie and Frick grew out of Frick's refusal to sacrifice the interests of the minority stockholders of the Coke company to the interests of the Steel company. The Standard Oil Company is extending its influence to various banks and railroads by electing its directors to places in the directorates of these corporations. Possibly no one thing has contributed more to the establishment of the "system" which Lawson exposes than this duplicating of directorates. It is the plan employed to destroy competition between railroads and manufacturers, and it is the plan now used by the directors of the big insurance companies to obtain control of the trust funds held by these companies for their policyholders. The laws, both state and national, should prohibit the election of any officer or director in a corporation to a similar position in any competing corporation or in any corporation having business dealings with the corporation with which he is already connected. The laws might well go farther and forbid the purchase of stock by any person whose purpose is to secure control

of two such corporations. The people can regulate corporations whenever they get ready to deal with the question in earnest.

PERILS OF CONCENTRATION

An interesting discussion has been carried on between the *American Banker* and the *Wall Street Journal* on the subject, "Perils of Concentration." The *Journal* pointed out the remarkable concentration of banking power in a few New York city banks and the *American Banker* retorted that the *Journal's* criticism was "provincial." The *Journal* maintains, however, that its criticism is not "provincial" because it was not based upon a mere objection to the growth of these institutions. The *Journal* says that the banks should keep pace with the expansion of the country, but that such a growth is "something very different from the concentration which is taking place." The *Journal* says that the banking concentration now going on "comes from combination, consolidation, and other methods employed to secure monopolistic power," and that "this concentration has not been along the lines of commercial banking." The *Journal* explains:

> "The great banks of concentration are in close alliance with financial interests intimately connected with the promotion of immense enterprises, many of them being largely speculative. The bank credits of the country are being rapidly concentrated in the hands of a few bankers, who are more interested in banking on its financial side than in banking on its commercial side.
>
> "Such concentration as this is dangerous in a political sense. The people have already been greatly disturbed by the concentration that has taken place in the industrial world, and the fear that these aggregations of capital would become more powerful than the government itself has led to the enactment of statutes like the Sherman anti-trust law and to measures like that of the suit against the Northern Securities company. But concentration in the in-

dustrial world is a far less menacing condition than concentration in banking. The men or the set of men who control the credits of the country, control the country. And, if this concentration continues at the rapid rate with which it has progressed in the past ten years, there will surely come a time when the people, alarmed at the growth, will rise up in some vigorous measures to assert their power. Such an uprising would involve the most serious consequences and would likely be carried to the most unreasonable limits. Yet there can be no doubt that further concentration of banking power in New York is the end in view of some of our leading bankers. They believe that there will be a further reduction in the number of banks, and of a further increase in the power of the big banks. That is one reason why this banking concentration needs to be studied and its consequences carefully weighed."

Those who have been led to believe that the dangers involved in the process of concentration and combination are not real, will do well to carefully observe the testimony given by perhaps the most important, and certainly the most independent, publication in Wall street.

SAN DOMINGO TREATY DEFEATED

Having found it impossible to secure the confirmation of the San Domingo treaty which made this nation assume the role of a debt collecting agency the republican leaders of the senate, after consulting with the president, concluded not to bring the matter to a vote. While the democrats were nearly all opposed to any treaty which would involve the United States in the pecuniary disputes constantly arising in the southern republics, they were especially hostile to the San Domingo treaty because of the nature of some of the claims which are held against that country.

Senator Morgan of Alabama called the senate's attention to one case in which a financier charged the San Domingo government a half million for floating a loan of about two millions. The bonds were sold for a little more

than a million and the government, after it got through with contractors and middle men, realized something like two hundred thousand dollars. The debt has now grown to about ten million dolars. The European governments have been in the habit of backing up the usurious claims of their citizens and the president argues that unless we do as the Europeans do our citizens would be at a disadvantage. While the reasons given by the president are plausible to those who adopt the commercial view that in dealing with the weaker nations force can be used to collect debts due to individuals, the policy ought at least to carry with it a condition that the loans must be entirely free from fraud and the interest not excessive. If a nation is going to guarantee the collection of loans made by its citizens it ought to compel its citizens to loan at rates customary for safe investments. It is obviously unjust for a nation to allow its citizens to deal on a speculative basis, charging for the risk, and then proceed to eliminate the risk. Even with safeguards against usury such a policy is a dangerous one for us to endorse, because foreign money is invested here and we can not recognize the right of foreign nations to protect the loans of their citizens elsewhere without recognizing their right to compel payment from our citizens. If such a rule is established in the western hemisphere it ought to be accompanied by another rule making it unlawful for any citizen to borrow money outside of his own country or for any government to borrow except from its own citizens. According to the European rule now enforced against the weaker nations a loan is really an invitation to invade the land of the debtor.

COLORADO'S SHAME

Colorado's general assembly did not reflect credit upon the state when it ousted Governor Alva Adams and put in his place James H. Peabody. Whatever opinion one may entertain as to the merits of the charges and countercharges of frauds on election day, it is significant that ten republicans voted with the democrats against seating Peabody, while those who voted for Peabody did so only after

having secured from him a written pledge that after being seated he would resign and permit Lieutenant Governor McDonald to have the place.

These facts show very clearly that while a considerable number of republicans were unwilling to vote to depose Governor Adams, those who were willing to seat Peabody do not recognize that he has any claim on the place. It is a disgraceful affair, indeed, and the republican party that is responsible for the expulsion of Governor Adams will not profit by the action unless it is by way of learning the lesson taught by history that political organizations, as well as individuals, need not expect approval from the people when they yield to the temptation to commit foul deeds.

Although Governor Adams was urged to defend his rights by force and retain the position to which he was elected he declined to accept this advice and promptly surrendered his office. Governor Adams acted wisely. He can well afford to recognize the authority of the legislature and, retiring in good order, await the judgment that, sooner or later, must be recorded against the republican party by the good citizens of Colorado.

DEATH CLAIMS TWO GREAT MEN

The Commoner is called upon to chronicle the death of two illustrious democrats, men eminent both in statecraft and in party service—men whom the editor of The Commoner was pleased to count within the circle of his personal friends.

Judge John H. Reagan of Texas was the last survivor of the cabinet officers of the confederacy, and, as such, had a warm place in the hearts of the people of the south, but his service to the union was even more conspicuous than his services to the confederacy. As a member of the United States senate he was largely instrumental in securing the passage of the interstate commerce law. He was a firm supporter of the doctrine that the government has, and should exercise, the right to regulate the railroads, and, on retiring from the senate, he accepted a position as railway commissioner of his state, a position

which he occupied until his death. He was a notable figure at the national conventions of his party and was loved by all who knew him. He died full of honors and the world seems darker because his light has gone out.

Senator Bate of Tennessee, whose death has just been announced, was in the same class with Judge Reagan. He went from the military service of the confederacy into official life, first in his state and afterwards in the nation His was a rare combination of modesty and strength—of sweetness of disposition and force of character. He was not prominent in debate but he had an instinct for the right, and undoubted courage, and was always faithful to the people.

Judge Reagan and Senator Bate were splendid representatives of the highest type of the public servant—alert, able, steadfast and faithful. The democratic party and the nation suffer irreparable loss in their death.

BUT BREWER SAID IT, TOO

The members of the Brooklyn Bar Association recently greeted with applause the following statement made in an address by Father Edward W. McCarty:

> "Aggregations of capital have fastened themselves like filthy toads upon the handsome face of our glorious country. They threaten the manhood of America, and when we can say with truth that corporate interest can throttle legislation, both in state and nation, then is the future of America in peril. Even today, in trying to shake off these poisonous pests from the nation's face, we can see indications of the centralization that looks like empire. After all, if we have to make a choice between Caesar and Washington and corporations here and there over the land, is it not better that we have Caesar, especially if there be red blood in his veins, which is not true of corporations? But we want neither Caesar nor the corporations, and we appeal to your profession, gentlemen, to save us from both."

The *Wall Street Journal* declares that it does not know whether to be more surprised "by such language from a man of Father McCarty's character, scholarship and eloquence, than at the fact that the members of the bar association greeted it with loud applause." The *Journal* says that "Father McCarty may safely be trusted in his own calling, but when he undertakes to discuss political economy he soon gets into waters too deep for him." If Father McCarty has drawn a fairly accurate picture, then who will say that it is not the duty of the pulpit, as well as of the press and of all good citizens, to protest?

The *Journal* intimates that this clergyman stated the case too strongly. But did he state it more strongly than it was described by David J. Brewer, associate justice of the United States supreme court? When in referring to the power and influence which these vast aggregations of wealth are wielding in public affairs Justice Brewer used language almost identical with that employed by Father McCarty, to whose remarks the *Journal* takes exception.

Distinguished clergymen have repeatedly defended trusts. They have repeatedly championed, from their pulpits, the policies advocated by the trusts and the candidates nominated by the trusts. Yet, unless memory is at fault, the *Journal* has not rebuked these clergymen. The *Journal* has not insisted that these men refrain from discussing questions of political character. But when, as occasionally—and sad to say not frequently—a clergyman speaks out in protest against these powerful interests that are preying upon the necessities of the people, they are reminded that "the shoemaker must stick to his last."

When a man whose life has been dedicated to the service of the Master speaks in behalf of an oppressed people, he is "in his own calling," and such "waters" are never too "deep" for any one who has taken to his heart the great principles taught by the Nazarene.

THE GAMBLING VICE

Of all the vices that afflict the race it is doubtful if any vice is more demoralizing than the vice of gambling for it impoverishes the mind and the morals as well as the

purse. A press dispatch tells of a raid recently made on a New York pool-room in which some twenty women were found among the patrons. They are described as "well dressed," "most of them married," "one a white-haired grandmother" and one "the wife of a millionaire." It happens to be women this time, but the papers are full of such items in which men are the principals. Until a few years ago lotteries were chartered in some of the states and permitted to use the mails, and it is but a few months since the guessing contest was prohibited. Even now lotteries are licensed in some European nations and in some of the republics of South and Central America. Missouri has just put an end to licensed betting on horse racing and Ohio did the same thing a year earlier. The stock exchanges are still permitted to rob the unwary but recent investigations are awakening the public conscience and these exchanges will sooner or later be compelled to purge themselves of their speculative features.

The evil of gambling, in whatever form it may appear, is that it cultivates a desire to get something for nothing and substitutes the law of chance for God's law of "reward earned by service." Some bad habits affect only the body, at least in their beginning, but gambling immediately attacks the will and undermines the character. It is a heart disease and paralyzes one's energy. The man who becomes addicted to this vice soon ceases to be a producer because he cannot content himself with the slow returns of legitimate effort; then he neglects those dependent upon him and wastes that which he has already accumulated. By this time he is ready to go a step further and use trust funds and cheat those whom he entices into a game. Sometimes the cheating is done with loaded dice or marked cards; sometimes by shells and sleight of hand; sometimes it is done on a larger scale by grain corners, wash-sales or by the manipulation of stocks. After swindling comes disgrace and often suicide. Nothing but a higher ideal will prevent one's falling into the habit and nothing but moral regeneration will restore one who has fallen into the habit. No malady is so difficult to cure as one that attacks the will. Parents ought to warn their children against gambling; ministers ought to warn their congregations against it, and newspapers ought to point

out its evils to their readers. Only when one is willing to give to society a dollar's worth of service for a dollar's worth of pay and is as careful to give good measure as he is to demand good measure, is he on solid ground. An honest purpose begets honest methods and the two give peace of mind and the best assurance of success in every walk of life.

THE REFERENDUM MOVEMENT

The referendum movement is growing. The Montana legislature has decided to submit to the people of that state a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum. This has been the result of a contest which began with the people and has finally resulted in the capture of the legislature. Montana will be the fifth state to vote on this subject. The other states are South Dakota, Utah, Oregon and Illinois. The last Nevada legislature voted to submit a constitutional amendment providing for a direct initiative, but as it requires two legislatures to act favorably on such an amendment it goes over to the next legislature. In Utah two republican legislatures have refused to put a constitutional amendment into operation. In South Dakota the republican legislature has shown a disposition to ignore the provisions of the referendum amendment, but the cause of direct legislation is growing. Those who believe in bringing the government nearer to the people will support it when they understand it.

TEACHING MONARCHICAL DOCTRINE

Professor Munsterberg, a Harvard instructor, has created a sensation by delivering at Detroit, Mich., an address in which he made a veiled argument in favor of monarchical government as against representative government. Ex-Congressman Lucking of the Detroit district was in the audience (the address was delivered at an open meeting of the Cosmopolitan club) and replied to the professor, pointing out that the address was really an attack upon our theory of government. The professor

admitted this and attempted to justify himself by saying that President Roosevelt had said to him, "You will never hear me quoting from the Declaration of Independence." He also described a visit to the white house about Christmas time, when he declares he saw on the walls "a gift from the German emperor." According to the *Detroit Tribune* he described the gift as follows: "There was a golden frame and within it was a crown, and during the several days after Christmas when I called upon the president he had entwined about the crown the American holly. It was a beautiful suggestion, the crown and the American holly."

If the president is correctly quoted, the Harvard professor can certainly feel that he has high authority to support him in his attack upon the Declaration of Independence and our theory of government, but let us hope that he did not correctly understand the president. He may have been overwhelmed by his reception at the white house, and so agitated as not to have comprehended the president's language. Let us even hope that his eyes deceived him when he saw what he describes as a crown entwined with holly. A crown, even in a frame, would hardly be regarded as the proper ornament for the white house, unless it was a captured crown.

But while the professor may have misrepresented the president's position, he certainly speaks with authority as to his own position, and what shall we think of the propriety of the employment by a great American college of a professor who feels it his duty to belittle our principles of government and to praise monarchy? Is it strange that our heiresses are seeking titles abroad, when American colleges employ exponents of European ideas to instruct American youths?

SCARING THE REPUBLICANS

Ex-Senator Wm. E. Chandler of New Hampshire is attempting to scare the republicans into doing something for the people. He urged the senate to pass the Esch-Townsend bill, giving as his reason that if the republicans failed to act upon the railroad question "Mr. Bryan will

be elected president in 1908, and with him will surely come governmental ownership of railroads, the suppression of the fifteenth amendment and of the colored vote, the destruction of the protective tariff, with the enthronement of free trade, the repeal of the gold standard with the restoration of free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, and all other unnumbered woes of which Mr. Bryan is the advocate."

He declares that no republican candidate can prevent this dismal misfortune except President Roosevelt, and that he will not again be a candidate. "Possibly," he adds, "Senator LaFollette is another republican leader who could stem the tide of democracy as driven along by the inrushing indignation of republicans."

Well, if Mr. Bryan can be used to scare the republicans into doing any good thing, he will have served a useful purpose, even if the service is rendered as a private citizen rather than as an official. As reform is the thing to be desired, it really does not matter so much whether the reform is brought about by democrats who work for the reform because they want reform or by republicans who are scared into doing right by fear of the defeat of their party.

TAINTED MONEY

The papers announced a few days ago that John D. Rockefeller had given a large sum—sometimes stated as $200,000 and other times as $100,000—to the missionary board of the Congregational church. And now comes the report that a committee of Congregational ministers, representing Boston and various sections of New England, have forwarded to the board a protest against the acceptance of the gift on the ground that "the Standard Oil company, of which Mr. Rockefeller is at the head, stands before the public under repeated and recent formidable indictments in specific terms for methods which are morally iniquitous and socially destructive."

The petition goes on to say that "the acceptance of such a gift involves the constituents of the board in a relation implying honor toward the donor, and subjects the board to the charge of ignoring the moral issue involved."

The signers of the petition conclude by protesting against "any action by which our church may even seem to be compromised, and we implore the officers of the board to decline the gift or return it if it has been accepted." Among the signers of the petition are Daniel Evans, Cambridge; Edward F. Sanderson, Providence; George N. Gutterson, Dairy, N. H.; N. Vanderpuyle, Marblehead, Mass.; Reuben Thomas, Brookline, Mass.; James S. Williamson, Haverford, Mass.

The ministers are to be congratulated upon their courage in thus protesting against the acceptance of the gift. The Standard Oil money is tainted. It has been accumulated by methods which violate the statutes of the states as well as the moral law. These methods can not be defended and no church or college should soil its hands with money thus secured. Not only has the Standard Oil company itself been guilty of all the crimes in the calendar, but the men and institutions connected with it have been shown to act upon the same principles that characterize the burglar and the highwayman. Mr. Lawson is showing up the dealings of Rogers, who is at present the controlling spirit in the Standard Oil. Only a short time ago in the Munroe & Munroe failure the public got an insight into the methods employed by a vice president of the National City bank. Just now the state of Kansas is in a life and death struggle with the monopoly, and the government is engaged in an investigation of it. Its methods have been so fully exposed that no one can plead ignorance. No organization can accept conspicuous donations from Rockefeller without incurring an obligation that can only be discharged by silence in regard to the crimes and misdemeanors of Rockefeller and his associates in the oil trust.

The public is familiar with the demoralizing influence which the Rockefeller donations have exerted on the Chicago University, and there is evidence that other colleges have put themselves in the position of suppliants at the feet of the oil magnate. It is fortunate that Rockefeller is stingy, for if he was at all liberal, a tithe of his plunderings would suffice to subsidize a large number of colleges and associations if they would accept his money.

If the Congregational society will refuse the Rockefeller donation it will doubtless be rewarded by a more generous contribution from the rank and file of the church, but whether or not it finds a pecuniary reward in doing right, it owes it to the public not to tar itself with the Rockefeller stick. If our churches and colleges would refuse to enter into a partnership with the trust magnates and reject the offers that come from them, these rejections would soon cultivate a public opinion that would be felt by those who have been preying upon society. If a trust magnate found that he was shunned by those who are at the head of religious and educational institutions, and that his money was not desired, it might have some influence in restraining him, and it would be sure to leave the colleges and churches more free to fight the evils of private monopoly.

Success to the petition! May it have weight with the board!

POST ON IDEALS

Mr. Louis F. Post, editor of the *Public,* was the guest of the democratic editors of Nebraska at Lincoln on March 22, and delivered a very strong address on democratic ideals in journalism. Mr. Post stands in the front rank of democratic journalists. His is a rare combination of mental strength, wide information and moral purpose. He has made his paper, the *Public,* beloved by all who read it and has earned for himself an enviable place among the earnest political thinkers and writers of the day. His own conscientious devotion to high ideals and his broad comprehension of democratic principles admirably fitted him to discuss the theme which he selected, and it may be added that he could nowhere find more appreciative hearers than among the editors of Nebraska who have so loyally devoted themselves to the promulgation of democratic principles.

JEFFERSON'S POETRY

Probably few of the millions who have read Jefferson's writings know that he ever wrote a line of poetry. A reader of The Commoner calls attention to some lines

written by Jefferson near the close of his life, said to have been the very last lines penned. They were addressed to his daughter, Mrs. Epps, and refer to an older daughter and his wife who died before him. The lines are valuable because, so far as known, they are his only venture in poetry, but also because they bespeak a belief in immortality. They read:

"Farewell, my dear, my daughter, adieu.
The last pang in life is in parting with you;
Two seraphs await me long shrouded in death,
I will bear them your love in my last parting breath."

A FALSE MOTTO

A "civic association," with headquarters in New York, is sending out literature on the corporation side of public questions. At the top of its letter head it has a motto which explains its business in politics. It says: "Public ownership waste exceeds corporate profit." This is a false statement as experience shows, but it will serve as well as any other motto for those who are attempting to deceive the public by giving their associations high-sounding titles. A reader of The Commoner sends in two pieces of literature sent out by this civic association. One is a special dispatch to the *New York Evening Post,* which purports to explain the oil problem in Kansas by saying that there is a "vast overproduction of crude petroleum." The other piece of literature is a reprint from the *Nation* in which an attempt is made to answer Ida M. Tarbell's history of the Standard Oil company. The fact that the literature was sent to a denominational college is evidence that the trusts, and such agents of theirs as the civic association, are trying to overcome the influence of the magazine articles and court investigations.

A FEW QUESTIONS ANSWERED

A Texas reader submits the following questions which are answered, the answers following the questions:

1. Conceding that the government of the United States is one of the leading, in every way the strongest

of the civilized governments of the world, with authority from its people to coin and issue money in sufficient quantities or volume to meet the demands upon it for debts due or coming due, can there be any reason or necessity for the issuance of interesting bearing bonds in order to pay these debts?

As the value of a dollar depends upon the number of dollars, a large issue of paper money would naturally increase prices and reduce the value of a dollar. The main objection urged to paper money issued by the government is that its volume can be increased or decreased by law and that because of this fact the stability of the dollar is in danger. If, as the democrats contend, the government should exercise the right to issue whatever paper money we need instead of turning this power over to banking corporations, it would sometimes be possible to issue paper money instead of bonds, to the advantage of the people. It does not follow that, because a government can issue paper money, it should never issue bonds. Circumstances must determine which is the wisest course to pursue.

If paper money is to be issued it ought to be issued in such a way as to assist in maintaining the stability of the dollar—that is, the parity between money and property, and not in such a way as to disturb the stability of the dollar. At present the government is in the hands of those who not only oppose the issuance of more paper money by the government, but are trying to retire the paper money now in circulation. It must be remembered that the republican party, as now organized, opposes the issue of paper money by the government and favors the retirement of the paper money we have and the substitution of bank notes for it. The democratic party favors the issue of money by the government and would substistitute government notes for bank notes, the government notes, according to the platforms of 1896 and 1900, to be redeemable in coin on demand, the government exercising the choice as to the coin.

The populist party is with the democratic party as to the right of the government to issue paper money, but favors a paper money not redeemable in any other kind of money.

2. In case this government should fall short of ready cash to pay the expense of the building of the Panama canal, will there arise an unavoidable necessity for the issuance of bonds in order to get the money with which to do it?

If the government is in the hands of those who oppose the issue of paper money by the government, any extra demands for money exceeding the current revenues must be met by an issue of bonds, whether this extra demand is caused by the construction of the Panama canal or by a falling off in revenues.

3. If this government is as resourceful as it claims to be, and still owes millions of dollars of interest bearing bonds, why is it that the per capita circulation is not far in excess of what it is, and why is it that the current revenues of the government should not pay its current expenses?

The quantity of interest bearing bonds has no direct connection with the per capita circulation or with the current revenues. Of course, the per capita circulation could be increased by issuing non-interest bearing paper in the redemption of interest bearing bonds, but that would not necessarily follow the endorsement of the doctrine of government paper, for the thing aimed at should be the maintenance of a sufficient volume of money, not the conversion of all interest bearing obligations into paper money. The per capita circulation does not affect the question of deficit or surplus except in so far as it may make it easier for the people to pay taxes. The tax systems determine the quantity of taxes to be collected, and the quantity collected, together with the appropriations, determines whether there shall be a surpuls or a deficit.

4. Conceding that the bonds sold to them by the government are still in the hands of the bondholders, and the money which they paid for them is neither in the hands of the people, nor in the government treasury, can you explain where the money so derived can be located?

When bonds are sold the bonds go into the hands of the bondholders (and are subject to transfer) and the money paid for them goes into the treasury of the government. This money can only be paid out as other moneys are paid out by the treasury. When bonds are

issued, not to furnish money for current expenses or for some extra expenditure, but to redeem other kinds of money, there is liable to be an accumulation in the treasury. For instance, under the present ruling of the treasury the holders of greenbacks and treasury notes can present them and demand gold. The greenbacks and treasury notes are then held in the treasury in the place of the gold, and if the gold runs low the government issues bonds and buys more gold. This gold also goes into the treasury, and thus money is withdrawn from circulation and accumulated in the treasury.

CONGRESSMAN SCUDDER'S VOTE

Congressman Scudder of New York, one of the six democrats who voted against the railroad rate bill as it passed the house, writes a letter to The Commoner enclosing a bill of some length introduced by him on the 18th day of February. The editorial appeared in The Commoner on the 17th of February and the rate bill passed the house several days before that; it is not sufficient defense of his vote to introduce a bill of his own after the rate bill had passed the house and when his bill had no chance for consideration. It will be noticed that in his letter he expressed fear that the Esch-Townsend bill, if enacted into law, "would centralize in an arm of a partisan government a power dangerous to the government and its institutions." This is an argument that has become quite familiar of late. The railroads defy the state governments whenever the latter attempt to do anything, and express great fear of centralization when the federal government attempts to do anything. There is danger of centralization, but it does not arise from the effort to restrain corporations engaged in interstate commerce. There is infinitely more danger in the proposition advanced by the railroads that railroads ought to be incorporated by the federal government.

Centralization does not come from restraining legislation nearly so much as from federal grants. If Mr. Scudder really favors the protection of the public from railroad extortion and discrimination, as his bill would indi-

cate, he ought to have voted for the Esch-Townsend bill as the best thing obtainable under the circumstances, just as nearly all the rest of the democrats voted for that bill —not because they thought it perfect, but because it was the best bill they could hope for from a republican congress. The fact that only five other democrats joined Mr. Scudder in voting against the bill is proof that either they do not take the same view of railroad legislation as their democratic colleagues or that they differed from them in judgment as to the efficacy of the measure.

TOLSTOY ON GOVERNMENT

Count Tolstoy, the great Russian philosopher, has recently written a letter, widely published in this country, discussing the Russian government and making some statements which are broad enough to imply condemnation of all forms of government.

The editor of The Commoner has received some inquiries in regard to this letter. It has been asked whether Tolstoy in condemning our government with the Russian government suggests any substitute for government. In the first place, Tolstoy places emphasis upon the individual's regeneration. He contends that until the proper relation is established between one's self and his God he does not understand the purpose of life and therefore does not know how to conduct himself with reference to his own happiness or the happiness of others. In his essays he complains that scientists busy themselves with investigations regarding the age of the earth, the distance of the stars, and with the study of the various "ologies," neglecting the most important of all sciences, namely, how to live. His philosophy rests upon the doctrine that man, being a child of God and a brother of all the other children of God, must devote himself to the service of his fellows, and it must be admitted that a rivaly in the service of others presents an entirely different situation from a rivalry the object of which is to compel service to one's self. He argues that when the units are living according to the proper theory of life, the whole will be harmonious, and he believes that the

regeneration of the units can be brought about not by force or violence, but by the influence exerted by the example of those whose lives are built upon this ideal.

Convinced that his plan would regenerate the world, restore peace between man and man and substitute everywhere the gospel of service for pride and selfishness, he counts as of little value a government which, without purifying the spring, simply attempts to filter enough of the water to make life endurable. Having lived under the dark shadow of Russian absolutism and despotism, he has seen only the mailed hand of government, and it is not strange that when he speaks of government he should have in mind the evils that flow from the rule of cruel, ambitious and mercenary monarchs. To confound a government as it sometimes is with a government as it should be, would be like confounding a conflagration with a fire in a stove. The one is disastrous, the other beneficial.

There is no doubt that even the best of governments will err, but with the progress of civilization governments ought to contain a less and less percentage of harmful ingredients and an increasing percentage of helpfulness. We have already seen a great change in the punishment of criminals. Formerly a large number of crimes were punished by death. Now the death penalty is reserved for two or three crimes only, and prisons have become reformatories rather than institutions for the infliction of vindictive punishment. Wars, while still distressingly frequent, are destined to give place to arbitration, and then governments will cease to devote themselves to the taking of human life.

While the harsher features of government are destined to diminish, the co-operative part of government is likely to increase. That is, the government will find it wise to do, as a community, what individuals can not so well do for themselves, and what private corporations can not be trusted to do. For instance, the federal government has found that it can distribute the mails better than they could be distributed by a private corporation, and probably better than they could be by any voluntary co-operative society.

In the cities it has been found necessary to furnish water from some central source. In the modern city or

even in any town of any considerable size the system of individual wells is not possible. The city must either supply this water and distribute the expense, or it must be supplied by a private corporation. Experience shows that the government, acting for the people, can furnish a better service at a lower price than it is furnished by private corporations.

To be sure, if every citizen lived according to the ideal presented by Tolstoy, the evils that have attended the private ownership of city water plants would largely disappear, but the universal acceptance of this idea, desirable as it is, is still some distance away.

While Tolstoy has been described as a philosophical anarchist, he must not be confused with the anarchist of whom the various countries have practical knowledge. The man who argues that the individual members of society should be so regenerated that no compulsive force would be necessary to maintain order and establish justice, and who seeks to secure this regeneration by moral suasion and the practice of non-resistance to evil, is a very different man from the one who with a knife or pistol or bomb attempts the removal of those in authority. The former is a leavening force which makes for the betterment of the individual, while the latter is a destructive force and retards the progress of reform.

Tolstoy asserts that "the only possibility of a change of the general policy of the government lies in perfecting the individual morally and religiously. When there is a general respect for others," he declares, "lack of gentleness, hatred and brute force all disappear."

In comparing Russia with other countries, Tolstoy says that while other countries have a so-called "free and independent press, its freedom is only apparent." He declares that the whole press is controlled by wealthy persons who admit no advancement of the people. While it is true that a great many papers are controlled by corporations and used to advance schemes of spoliation, it is not true that all of the press is so controlled or employed. There are in all countries papers that are strenuously defending the rights of the people and the rights of the people are better protected where these papers exist.

The industrial question which Tolstoy regards as most important to the people is the land question. He declares

that the central problem is the nationalization of land, he being a believer in the single tax theory advanced by Henry George.

But whatever one may think of Tolstoy's views of the ultimate substitution of self-control for government, no one can doubt that he has contributed enormously to the moral forces which tend to lift man above the brutal, the physical and the material into the realm where reason and conscience direct and guide.

AN HEROIC ATTACK

Rev. Washington Gladden, pastor of the First Congregational church of Columbus, Ohio, and moderator of the general council of Congregational churches of the nation, in a sermon recently delivered in his own pulpit, directed a philippic against the acceptance of the $100,000 offered by Rockefeller to the board of missions of the Congregational church. It is a bugle note and, coming as it does from one so high in his denomination, will have great weight. It is an heroic attack upon the plan proposed by the trusts for subsidizing our churches and colleges into silence upon the iniquities of the private monopoly.

HUSH MONEY

The following letter, written for the *Homiletic Review,* in response to a request for an opinion upon the subject, is reproduced in The Commoner because of the current interest in the matter discussed:

Editor *Homiletic Review,* New York City:

Dear Sir: In response to your request for an opinion on the subject of gifts, like that proposed by Mr. Rockefeller to the American Board of Foreign Missions, I beg to say that the subject is one of exceeding importance and one upon the right decision of which much depends. Rev. Washington Gladden of Columbus, Ohio, has very forcefully presented several of the objections which may be urged to the acceptance of such a gift, and Dr. Epiphanius Wilson has, so far as I have seen, presented the most

extreme view on the other side. There are several distinctions to be drawn in the consideration of the subject.

First—We should distinguish between the acceptance of money from a penitent wrong-doer and the acceptance of money from one who is not only not penitent but persistent in his course, and to all appearances denies that he is guilty of wrong-doing. We must also distinguish between the acceptance of gifts from those who are dead, and therefore no longer personally interested, and the acceptances of gifts from those who are alive and who may have a selfish purpose to serve. We may also draw a distinction between contributions that are made in such a way as to raise no obligation in return, and those which place the receiver under obligation to the donor. For instance, there would scarcely be a dispute as to the wisdom of accepting a gift from one who brought it to the church as a result of the working of his own counscience and because it was impossible to return the money to the ones from whom he had taken it. In such a case the gift would be accepted and applied to some good use, but the minister accepting the same would not only be free to condemn the methods by which the money was accumulated, but could use the incident as an argument against the accumulation of money in such a way by others.

The acceptance of a bequest after the death of the donor might be justified even though the money was acquired in a way that the church would not be willing to defend, although in this case there might be some doubt as to the wisdom of accepting, because of the encouragement that the church's action might give to others still living and engaged in accumulating money in the same way.

If one attending a church deposits money in the contribution box, his identity being unknown, his contribution imposes no obligation upon the church, and there would be no disposition to inquire into the source from which it came. If, however, the money came from one in regular attendance upon the church and came in such an amount as to make the minister hesitate about condemn-

ing the source from which it came or the occupation by which it was accumulated, a question would be raised as to the wisdom of accepting it.

Among the things to be considered in deciding this question are, first, the effect that the acceptance of the gift would have upon the donor; second, the effect that the acceptance of the gift would have upon the donee; and, third, the effect that the acceptance of the gift would have upon the public.

We have a concrete case in the Rockefeller gift, and this will serve as a better illustration than any imaginary gift. Here is a gift from a man who is not only not penitent but, on the contrary, quite boastful of the benevolence of his business methods. He does not come with conscience money but poses as a public benefactor, and as a representative of an industrial system. He is not dead but very much alive, and his gift, instead of being presented through the contribution box as if from "an unknown friend," is offered at the front of the stage before the footlights, and with his name boldly written on a card, and the card firmly attached to the bouquet. The acceptance of his gift by a prominent religious association, so far from hastening repentence, would naturally strengthen him in his conviction that he is doing the Lord's service not only in his methods of distribution but in his methods of accumulation. Can a church organization, dedicated to Christianity and teaching the doctrine of brotherhood and brotherly love, afford to put itself in the position of encouraging a corporation so unbrotherly and so destitute of love, compassion and pity, as the Standard Oil trust has shown itself to be? If Mr. Rockefeller were simply a stockholder who had grown rich by the methods of the company, without personal responsibility for its management, the question might present a little different aspect, but even then we could not shut our eyes to the responsibility of a man who would voluntarily and continuously accept the benefits of wrongdoing.

But even more important than the influence exerted upon Mr. Rockefeller is the influence exerted upon the church. Can a church which accepts money from Mr. Rockefeller take an active part in condemning the methods employed by Mr. Rockefeller? Whether the gift is

intended as "hush money" or not, does it not operate as such? A man who was recently asked for an opinion on the Rockefeller donation hesitated whether he should give it or not, because some of the benevolent enterprises with which he was connected received substantial aid from an official of a great trust. He expressed himself as in doubt whether he should express an opinion upon the subject, and declared that it was the first time that it had ever occurred to him that the receipt of money from such a source influenced his own action. And yet he admitted that he recognized that to all intents and purposes gifts from an officer of a trust had on him somewhat the effect of hush money, because he did not feel free to criticise the methods employed by the Standard Oil company.

If Christianity is going to do the work that the Master laid out for his church it must apply Christian principles to everyday life, and Christ's gospel applied to everyday life is condensed into the commandment "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The church cannot afford to proclaim this doctrine to the world and then shrink from the discussion of the violations of it. Man's relation to his God is a personal relation and one which the outsider ordinarily finds it difficult to investigate, but we have Bible authority for the statement that man's conduct toward his brother furnishes the surest test of man's relations with his Maker. In fact, the Bible speaks very positively upon this subject and declares that a man is a liar if he asserts that he loves his God and yet hates his brother. The methods by which men prove their hatred of their brother are many and various, and probably no man of the present day has shown his hatred of his brother in more ways than Mr. Rockefeller. Is not the church likely to be hindered in its work of restoring justice and inaugurating an era of brotherhood by reliance upon gifts from men who have a large pecuniary interest in silencing the church's protest?

Neither can the church ignore the influence which its action may have upon public opinion. The church lives in the world and the world is prone to judge Christianity by the conduct of those who profess it. If a church accepts money from a notorious offender against morality, and

if the church, after accepting the money, so acts as to raise the suspicion that the receipt of the money influences the conduct of the church toward wrong-doing, will not many outside of the church doubt the good faith of the church? Will it not be a cause of offense to many? Is not a divergence between profession and performance the most severe charge that can be brought against either individual or church?

Mr. Rogers, one of the controlling spirits of the Standard Oil company, virtually admits that the business was formerly aided by secret rebates, and the government is now investigating charges brought against the Standard Oil company for recent violation of the law. The anti-trust laws passed by various states indicate the feeling that there is among the people. If the object of the church is the regeneration of the world, and through this regeneration the establishment of love and peace in the place of selfishness and conflict, can it consistently form a partnership with trust magnates? Until the church has some maxim from higher authority it can afford to conform to the doctrine expressed in the declaration "if eating meat maketh my brother to offend, I will eat no meat."

It is hardly worth while to consider the argument that the church has no right to reject money offered it. It would put the church in a pitiful position if it were so helpless that it could be made a partner in wrong-doing without its power to refuse. But if any preacher is afraid that he will incur responsibility by refusing to accept Mr. Rockefeller's gifts, let him devote himself to the denunciation of the methods employed by Mr. Rockefeller, and he will not have any Rockefeller money offered to him. Let him preach the gospel of the One who, instead of attempting to absorb the wealth of others, gave Himself to the world and went about doing good, and he will never be put to the test, for the men who make millions by exploitation and then give a tithe of their plunderings to church or charity are not likely to embarrass with their gifts those who cry out and spare not. Elijah never had to ponder whether he should receive gifts from Ahab, for the truth which he proclaimed made Ahab his bitter enemy.

From every standpoint the acceptance of the Rockefeller money would seem to be unwise, while its refusal would bring to him, as he has never had brought to him before, the consciousness of his iniquities. The rejection of the gift would also leave the church free to preach a religion unadulterated by commercialism, and would go far to convince the public that the spirit of the meek and lowly Nazarene inspires today those who at the communion table recall His broken body and His blood.

W. J. BRYAN.

JUDGE DUNNE'S VICTORY

Judge Edward F. Dunne, the democratic candidate for mayor of Chicago, has won a notable victory, partly personal and partly because of his outspoken endorsement of municipal ownership. Judge Dunne is a splendid type of the democratic official. He is a man whose sympathies are with the masses and who has both the ability and the moral courage to guard their rights and interests. He very naturally espoused the cause of municipal ownership, and espoused it with the candor which characterizes his conduct on all questions. A victory for municipal ownership in the second city in the United States is very significant, and will encourage those who are seeking to restore to the people the benefits that are now being enjoyed by the corporations which are operating under municipal franchises. While the city of Chicago gave a large republican majority last fall, it has cast its influence in favor of the democratic doctrine that a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. It is fortunate that this far-reaching experiment in municipal ownership is in the hands of one so competent to make the experiment under the best possible conditions. The Commoner extends hearty congratulations to Mayor-elect Dunne, and wishes him and the cause for which he stands abundant success.

CAMPAIGN FUNDS

Near the close of the last campaign Mr. Cortelyou issued a statement in which he said that the republican campaign fund of 1904 was only about half as large as

the republican campaign fund of 1896, and about equal in size to the democratic campaign fund of 1892. He also said that the fund was contributed to by more than four thousand persons. Whether he is correct in his estimate of the democratic campaign fund in 1892 is a question, but as a great many who helped to raise the democratic fund in 1892 were hand in glove with the republicans in 1896, it is possible that Mr. Cortelyou had authentic information on that subject. The significant thing, however, is his statement that only about four thousand persons contributed. For while he says "more than four thousand" it is reasonable to suppose that the number did not much exceed four thousand or he would have stated a higher figure. As the republican ticket received more than seven and a half million votes, the figures given by Mr. Cortelyou show that only about one republican in two thousand contributed to the republican campaign fund. It is evident, therefore, that but an infinitesimally small proportion of the republican voters contribute the "sinews of war," and it is also evident that those who do contribute the money control the policy of the party. Senator Stone of Missouri tried to secure the passage of a resolution which would provide for an investigation of the campaign funds of the last three campaigns but failed. Congressman Cockran of New York introduced a bill providing for the publication of campaign contributions, but it was not reported to the house by the republican committee which had it in charge. President Roosevelt asked for legislation compelling the publication of campaign contributions, but a republican congress did not respond.

The democrats should do everything in their power to secure legislation which will compel the publication of campaign contributions in advance of the election, and if they fail to secure such legislation they should put the republican party on the defensive in the next campaign by announcing, first, that no campaign contributions will be accepted from corporations. Corporations are not chartered to carry on campaigns. They are organized for business purposes and have no right to use the money of their stockholders for partisan contributions. Let individuals contribute their own money and not money that they hold in trust. Second, the democratic party ought to go a step farther and open its books for public inspec-

tion, so that the voters will know that it is not receiving money from persons interested in legislation. The only way to make a successful campaign against the encroachments of organized wealth is to make it so honestly, so openly and so fairly as to appeal to the conscience of the country.

LINCOLN HAS DEMOCRATIC MAYOR

Hon. F. W. Brown, the democratic candidate, was elected mayor of Lincoln last week by more than six hundred majority. He is the first person to be elected on a straight democratic ticket in many years. Two of his associates on the ticket came within three hundred of election, and the largest majority cast for anyone on the republican ticket this year was about twelve hundred. This is a very considerable democratic gain. During the past eight years the republican papers have been in the habit of adding "This is Mr. Bryan's home" to the announcment of republican success in the city; it is to be hoped that the election of a democratic mayor will not cause the republican editors to forget that Mr. Bryan still receives his mail at Lincoln.

A MONUMENT TO JACKSON

Colonel A. S. Colyar, to whose "Life of Jackson" reference has been made in the columns of The Commoner, writes an article for the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* suggesting that Tennessee should erect a monument to Andrew Jackson. The position is well taken. Jackson has given prestige to Tennessee. He loved his state and the state holds now all that was mortal of him. Monuments testify to the worth of the living as well as to the merits of the dead, and the state of Tennessee would do itself honor in honoring her greatest son.

FOR YOUNG AMERICANS

The editor of *Young Americans* asks for an article on the subject, "Why Young Americans of Today Should

Interest Themselves in Politics?" The reasons are so numerous that it would be difficult to furnish a complete answer.

The young Americans of today will be the acting, governing force of tomorrow, and only by interesting themselves in politics—not only before maturity, but all their lives—can American citizens hope to do their full duty to their country. Free government is a responsibility as well as a privilege—a grave responsibility—for when one has the privilege of participating in the government he must share in the responsibility for bad government as well as in the credit for good government.

Whether one ever becomes a candidate for office may depend upon circumstances, but everyone—regardless of his occupation—should study the science of government, acquaint himself with public questions and give to his country his conscience and his best judgment on every question that arises.

In the study of public questions the most important thing is to get hold of the controlling principle. Only when one understands the principles which govern a subject does he understand the subject, and the fundamental principles applicable to politics are really everyday principles with which all are familiar. "Thou shalt not bear false witness," "Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt not kill"—these will be found to cover most of the questions, and of the three the second, "Thou shalt not steal," is probably the broadest in its application, for every pecuniary injustice done by one man to another —whether directly or indirectly, whether in violation of law or in the absence of law, partakes of that character of larceny.

One is never too young to begin to interest himself in the principles of government, and there is no age however advanced at which one can afford to be indifferent.

SILVER AND WHEAT

A reader of The Commoner, referring to an editorial which appeared some weeks ago discussing the effect of falling silver upon the price of wheat, asks whether, if

the price of wheat goes down in Liverpool, it does not go down in India, regardless of the kind of money used in purchasing it. This is a question that is often asked, and has often been answered. Before the suspension of the coinage of silver in India the silver price of wheat did not fall. As the gold price fell in Liverpool it required less and less in gold to buy the silver with which to pay for a given amount of wheat. For instance, when gold and silver were at a parity at the coinage ratio, it would require $1.29 in gold to buy an ounce of silver. If that ounce of silver would buy a bushel of wheat in India, the wheat in Liverpool would sell for $1.29 in gold, plus the cost of carriage. When silver fell to 80c an ounce in gold, then a bushel of wheat selling in India still at $1.29 would bring in Liverpool 80c in gold plus the cost of carriage, and gold countries had to meet this competition. The Indian farmer who was on a silver basis did not suffer by the fall in silver except insofar as he bought imports, while the American farmer suffered, because his taxes, his debts and his fixed charges remained substantially the same, while the value of his crop decreased. When England suspended the coinage of silver in India and fixed a ratio of 24 to 1, the Indian farmer began to share the suffering visited upon gold standard countries by the fall in silver, although he still had a 50 per cent advantage over the gold standard countries.

The act suspending the free coinage of silver in India was passed by a counsel of Englishmen without authority from the Indian people and without consulting either the wishes or the interests of the Indian people. When Senator Wolcott, one of the monetary commissioners appointed by President McKinley, returned from Europe he declared that the action of England in suspending the coinage of silver in India was the chief cause of the suffering that many attributed to the famine.

HIDING BEHIND INDIVIDUALISM

The corporation democrats have commenced their crusade against what they term radicalism and, as was expected, they hide behind "individualism." They are very

much afraid that thrift will be discouraged and that individual independence will be lost in public ownership. Insofar as this argument is advanced by those whose sympathies are with the corporations it is unnecessary to answer it, because those who want to act with the corporations will act with them, no matter how often or how completely their arguments are answered; but for the benefit of those whose sympathies are right it may be well to draw a distinction. The democratic party believes in encouraging and protecting the indivudal, but today the individual is being run out of business by the private monopoly. It is in the interest of the individual that the democratic party is trying to restore competition where competition is possible and it is in the interest of the individual that the democratic party favors public ownership where competition is impossible. Those who use individualism as a cloak for their arguments in favor of monopoly only mock and deceive the individual.

Private ownership of municipal franchises has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. It has produced extortion and corruption. Public ownership of the public utilities of a city is the only remedy and the growth in sentiment in favor of it is tremendous. Before long only those who are pecuniarily interested in taking advantage of the public will favor the sale of municipal franchises.

JUDGE PARKER ON FADS

Judge Alton B. Parker, in his Jefferson day banquet speech, delivered at New York on April 13, took occasion to cast some reflections upon the intelligence of the rank and file of the party. He referred to free silver as a "fad" which means, if it means anything, that, in his opinion, those who favored it were lacking in what Mr. Cleveland describes as "sanity." He says:

> "If we are to deal effectively with these various issues, whether in opposition or in power, it will be necessary to have a real party with real followers, attached to real and recognized principles. It is not enough that it shall have a collection of fads—

many of them useless and some of them dangerous and opposed to the historic position of our organization. We have already had too many of these because it is safe to assert of a policy that if it is radical it is not democratic; if it is democratic it is not radical.

"It is necessary for us to remember that we have principles and traditions of our own and that every departure from them has landed us in defeat. Nor can we take anybody else's policies, ready made, however strong may be the outward clamor. They must square with our own principles. What may seem to be popular demands are sometimes not popular but mere momentary crazes which sweep over the community only to sink faster than they rose. For many years, in certain parts of the country, the politicians in both parties kept their ears so closely to the ground that they heard the rumble of a greenback movement but it always brought defeat whenever this sound was given a voice.

"We found the same thing true on a larger scale and with greater and more permanent loss when we took up the silver question. And yet, of all single questions thus far in our history presented as party issues this was the most seductive. It had some warrant in history and made appeal to many forces in our politics. It had also the great advantage of being championed by an honest and patriotic man, who was and is perhaps the most persuasive political orator known to our history. And yet it swept our party out of power in every northern democratic state, and they have remained in the republican column ever since, while the two border states which then turned against us for the first time have been retained by small and inconclusive majorities."

He admits that the silver issue was "seductive" and that it had "some warrant in history," but he describes it as a "fad." A recollection of the disastrous results that followed the sending of his gold telegram ought to have led him to keep silent on this particular question. Even a convention pledged to him (and pledged when he refused to let anyone know where he stood on the money

question) refused to endorse the gold standard, although urged to do so by those who had charge of his forces. When, after his nomination, he repudiated the platform and injected his opinion on the money question, a question which the convention had decided to ignore, many who had advocated his nomination were so indignant that they were willing to withdraw the nomination, and even the rock-ribbed democracy of Missouri could not be held to the ticket on election day.

He polled nearly a million and a half votes less than the party polled eight years before when free silver was the paramount issue, whereas with the natural increase in the population he ought to have polled more. If the democrats were willing to overlook his effort to conciliate the gold democrats at the expense of the silver democrats, he ought to be generous enough to refrain from insulting them. Those whom he describes as followers of fads were advocating a financial system which was tried in the United States for eighty-one years and advocated by the party in congress and in the platforms. The quantitative theory of money has been vindicated by events and Judge Parker's reference to the subject shows that he is as ignorant of the principles of monetary science as the Wall street crowd, whose views he seems to accept.

But he does not stop with a denunciation of bimetallism, but proceeds at once to make against the anti-monopoly democrats the insinuation which the ultra-corporation element of the republican press is constantly making, namely, that they are opposed to thrift and industry. Judge Parker says:

> "The lesson to be learned from this is that, whether as Americans or as partisans, we must struggle out of the treacherous bogs of policy and get back to the solid ground of principle. In doing this the first and most important step is recognition of a fact inherent in our society, fixed in our laws and institutions, and the consistent policy of the democratic party from the earliest days. This is, that honest thrift, the natural fruit of industry, must be encouraged and promoted.

"It ought to be clear by this that if we endorse, or accept, or even fail to oppose, any policy which shall directly or remotely suggest even the possibility of confiscation, or which by any agitation so much as threatens the measure of values, we shall arouse the suspicions and invite the opposition of our people, whether their accumulations are invested in farms, town houses, mines, deposits in savings banks, insurance policies, or in our varied industries wherever found."

The judge's language is important because it shows the standpoint from which he views public questions. He is on the side of the corporations and is making the same arguments that they make. Those who, like the editor of The Commoner, had hoped to see him take the side of the masses against the encroachments of predatory wealth are doomed to disappointment. He takes the Cleveland view (he even specifically commends Mr. Cleveland's administration) that the country must take care of wealth and leave wealth to take care of the people. The solicitude shown by him lest industry may be discouraged shows either a shallow understanding of the subject, or that his sympathies are on the wrong side. Those who believe in equal rights to all and special privileges to none are the real defenders of thrift and industry, for they desire to protect the earnings of the average man from the injustice of railroad extortion, the larceny of a high tariff and the highway robbery of the trusts.

It is to be regretted that Judge Parker has taken his place with the extreme "conservatives" who oppose all effective reform, but his failure to make his reactionary policy popular last fall will reduce his influence to a minimum. The reform element—the radical element to which he would deny the name of democracy—will control the next convention and give to the next campaign the enthusiasm which was so woefully lacking last year. Judge Parker's backers took the democratic party up upon the mountain and tempted it with the promise of success. When they failed to bring the success promised they lost their only argument. The democratic party will go forward, and the recent victory in Chicago shows the advantage of honesty and courage over evasion and compromise.

MAJORITY RULE

In the course of his lecture on "The Value of an Ideal," recently delivered at Cincinnati, Mr. Bryan endorsed the fundamental principle of our government, namely, that the people have a right to have what they want in government. A Cincinnati clergyman condemns the principle and insists that in many reform movements it is not the people or a majority of the people who advocate what proves to be a blessing, but one man or a few. The minister insists that to accept this doctrine—that is, that a majority have a right to have what they want—would forever silence the voice of the reformer and make it possible for every boss in every city and state to say that the people have endorsed him and that therefore reforms have no right to be.

The minister simply misunderstood the position taken by Mr. Bryan and the principle for which Mr. Bryan contends. No one denies that reforms start with a minority. The reform is suggested by some one, and it grows as it is discussed until finally a majority endorse it and put it into operation, but this in nowise does violence to the doctrine that the people have a right to have what they want in government.

No reform can be accomplished until a majority of the people have been brought to accept it. Either the majority or the minority must rule. If a minority is to rule, then it must be remembered that there may be any number of subdivisions, and if the presumption of correctness lies with the minority rather than with the majority, then if the minority divides on the question, by the same rule the presumption rests with the still smaller minority. According to our theory of government free speech and a free press enables each one to present his views to the public and our government is founded upon the belief—as Bancroft has stated it—not that the majority "make the right," but that the majority "discern the right," and that a government by the majority presents the safest form of government known to man. It is under just this form of government that the reformer is encouraged and the boss discouraged.

In an open contest the reformer will always overcome the boss if the reform advocated has virtue in it.

HAS THE PRESIDENT THE COURAGE TO BE A REFORMER?

(Written for *Public Opinion* by William J. Bryan and reproduced by courtesy of that journal.)

Has President Roosevelt the courage to be a reformer? There is no doubt that a large number of people have faith that he is going to make a vigorous assault upon the intrenchments behind which predatory wealth is massed. It was this belief that secured for him a very considerable democratic vote last fall, and more recent evidences of reform tendencies have brought him the commendation and congratulation of the people in general. He has said and done some things to excite the hope so widely expressed. If he justifies this hope he will retire from office with great popularity among the masses; if he disappoints this hope the disappointment will be the greater because of the expectation that has been aroused.

While the question of imperialism raises the same issue between the rights of the masses who pay the taxes and the profits of the few who live by exploitation, still several other questions are involved in the discussion of imperialism and its consideration is not necessary for the purposes of this article. The same may be said of the labor question and of the money question. The issue between democracy and plutocracy not only manifests itself in these questions but it is present in every problem that confronts us today; it will, however, require all the space allowed for this article to consider three of the questions which are calling for attention at this time, namely, the railroad question, the trust question and the tariff question.

During the lull before the storm promised at the extra session, which is looked for in October, it may be well to consider the work to be done and the qualities necessary for its successful performance.

What is the work to be done? The president has asked for legislation empowering federal officials to fix railroad rates, and this request has aroused almost unanimous opposition among the railroads. The influence of the transportation companies was not sufficient to prevent the passage of a bill by the house, but was sufficient

to prevent the incorporation in that bill of remedies for all of the admitted evils. But the bias of the senate in favor of the great corporations was too strong to permit of the passage of the rate bill, even though it had gone through the house by a practically unanimous vote. The railroad magnates recognize that when the fixing of railroad rates is put into the hands of government officials, such officials will be compelled to act, for public opinion will coerce them into the performance of their duty. If they fail to give the people the needed protection, the people will lay the responsibility upon those who appoint the officials, and thus party interest will become a compelling force. Then, too, public officials must act in the open. They can not be parties to secret understandings. While the regulation of railroad rates is in the hands of the railway magnates, the general public is in ignorance of what is going on. Individuals may suffer from extortion or discrimination, but their appeals and complaints are only heard in their immediate vicinity. The record of official boards and commissions, however, is published in documentary form and scattered broadcast over the land. It is only necessary to remember that the great railroad systems now traverse every state and have their paid representatives in almost every country to understand what a tremendous influence the roads can exert to prevent, or at least to delay, legislation. And their power is multiplied where they act upon a body which, like the senate, is not directly responsible to the voters. If the president secures the passage of a really effective rate measure he will deserve great credit and will receive it.

But the railroad question is only one of the questions which he has to meet. The railroad question can not be investigated without disclosing the intimate relation which exists between the railroads and the trusts, and as a reform principle necessarily grows and extends itself in all directions, it is quite certain that the discussion of the rate bill will compel the investigation of the trusts. In fact, the trust question is already forcing itself upon the public. The Garfield report on the beef trust, instead of quieting the country, has really aroused an indignation which will necessarily lead to further probing. The absurdity of some of the conclusions set forth in the Garfield report has tended to reflect upon either the good in-

tentions or the ability of those who made the investigation and to remove this suspicion active effort will be required.

The oil trust is likewise claiming its share of public attention, and we have seen a Kansas legislature passing measure after measure intended to protect the public from its rapacity. But these are only samples of the trusts. They are conspicuous, it is true, but they do not by any means stand alone. The salt trust will soon come up for attention, and the harvester trust is likely to be the subject of investigation before the implements which it sells are through with the work of harvesting.

The steel trust reaches its multitude of fingers into the pockets of millions of people and its operations must sooner or later become the subject of investigation. Then there are the tobacco trust, the whiskey trust, the starch trust, the sugar trust, the cracker trust, and numerous others that operate upon the same principle and are just as illegal in their methods and just as immoral in their purposes as the beef trust and the oil trust.

The president can not attack the principle upon which one trust operates without attacking the principle upon which they all operate, and they are likely to stand together, remembering the strength that there is in union. As the president proceeds he will find that there is no middle ground on the trust question.

Every policy must rest upon a theory, and that theory must be a defensible one. It is impossible to draw a line between two private monopolies and declare one to be beneficial and the other destructive. A good and wise king might bring blessings upon his people, while a foolish and bad president might bring evil upon his people, but the virtues of a benevolent monarch could not be used in defense of a monarchy any more than the vices of a bad president could be used as an argument against a republic. Governments must be defended upon the principles which underlie them, and so with trusts—they must be defended or opposed according to the principles which underlie them. No benevolent trust magnate—if it were possible to consider a man benevolent who first secured money by wrong-doing, and then gave a part or even all of it away—can redeem a private monopoly from condem-

nation, and no progress can be made toward the extermination of the trusts until it is clearly understood that "a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable."

Every year of growth has made the trust question more difficult to deal with, until now the trust defenders declare it impossible to attack the system without bringing widespread ruin. The *New York Sun* several years ago predicted that a really effective attack upon the trusts would cause a panic beside which the free silver panic—so loudly predicted—would be a flea bite.

Before one goes far into the trust question he recognizes that it is intimately connected with the tariff question as well as with the railroad question, and therefore any genuine reform is likely to involve a reduction of the tariff schedules as well as railroad regulation and the elimination of private monopoly. The trusts hide behind the tariff wall and prey upon American consumers, while they compete in the free markets of the world. Every year finds an increasing number of American manufacturers bidding against European manufacturers in competing markets where the Americans not only derive no benefit from protective tariffs, but must pay freight charges which they do not have to pay when competing upon American soil.

The protected industries are greedy. They have so long been permitted to write the schedules and prescribe the rates that they resent any interference with what they regard as vested rights. They have long been in the habit of holding the threat of wage reduction over the heads of their employes to coerce them into voting for candidates pledged to a high tariff. Sometimes, as at the time of the Homestead strike, the republicans have been compelled to admit that the employer did not always fairly divide the benefits of protection with the employe, but the tariff has been built up upon the assumption that the manufacturer is a patriotic, unselfish, benevolent man who can safely be trusted to take care of his employes if the government will but allow him to have his own way in the building of the tariff wall. The railroads have borrowed this argument from the manufacturers and are quick to suggest the possibility of lower wages for railroad employes in case of reduction of rates, and the

trust magnates, likewise imitating the tariff barons, look sad and express fear that trust employes may suffer if trust exactions are ended.

Here are three great reforms, and all so entwined together that it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to deal intelligently with one of the reforms without considering the other two. And he will probably find it necessary to urge the election of senators by direct vote of the people as a means of securing these reforms. Is it any wonder that the president's political friends, as well as his political opponents, are asking themselves whether he has the courage to be a reformer? The question will be answered within the next three years, and upon its answer will depend the president's place in history.

What qualities are required for the work? First, there must be sympathy with the people as against those who have profited by the plundering of the people. Has the president this sympathy? If not, nothing can be expected in the way of reform, for no man will undertake so gigantic a task unless his heart is really in his work—unless he feels that the producers of wealth are not enjoying their full share of the products of their toil.

Second, he must have information as to the extent of the abuses and the necessity for a remedy. And it may be added that no one is likely to look for information until his sympathies have been aroused. The president's utterances indicate that on some of the questions, at least, his sympathies are with the people, and where a man's sympathies are right upon one question they are apt to be right on others when he has pursued his investigations far enough to learn the real situation.

Third, moral courage is necessary, and assuming that the president is in sympathy with those who suffer from railroad discrimination, trust extortion and tariff robbery, and assuming that he understands the situation, the whole question turns upon his courage. No one doubts the president's physical courage. He has an abundance, if not a superabundance, of this quality, but there is a wide difference between physical courage and moral courage, and moral courage is as much above physical courage as a man is above the animal. Many of the beasts, both wild and domestic, will fight to the death,

but man alone has moral courage. Man alone will make sacrifice, endure suffering and even death in the performance of what he regards as a duty. The president has the reputation of possessing moral courage as well as physical courage, but his possession of this quality is likely to be tested as it has never been tested before.

The announcement made by the president that he would not be a candidate for re-election makes his way easier. He does not have to consider the power of the corporations to thwart his ambition, and however conscientious he may be, however high-minded and however anxious to place the public weal above his own personal advantage, he is stronger to make the fight because he has, by a stroke of the pen, eliminated himself from the equation. No human being is so strong but that he may wisely pray "Lead us not into temptation."

But while the president has put himself out of the presidential race and is therefore not open to arguments which might be addressed to his ambition, he must still meet many arguments that can not but have weight with him. There is the argument addressed to his gratitude —and who is entirely without a feeling of gratitude? Mr. Jordan in his book entitled "The Power of Truth" declares that ingratitude is a greater sin than revenge, for while the revengeful man repays injury with injury, the ingrate repays good with evil. The great corporations, against which the president's attacks must be directed, are corporations which have contributed liberally to the republican party. They all supported the republican ticket in 1896, and but for the success of that election the republican party would not have been victorious in 1900; and but for the victory of 1900 Mr. Roosevelt would not now be president. The railroad magnates, the trust magnates, and the tariff magnates can easily show him that he holds his position as a result of what they have done for the republican party, and the question "will you now reward us by hostile legislation?" will be as difficult a one to answer in the affirmative as one involving his own ambition.

But this is not the hardest question, for in answering this question his sense of duty might enable him to answer in the affirmative. But what will he say when they

show him that an attempt to pass effective legislation will divide his party? They will point to his enormous majority and ask whether he will risk the conversion of that great majority into a minority by dividing the republican party into factions and arraying these factions against each other. They will mildly suggest that his platform did not pledge him to war upon the railroads, upon the trusts or upon the protective tariff. And they may intimate that he is adopting democratic theories, after the democratic party was overwhelmingly defeated. They may even inquire of him whether his courage would not have been more severely tested had he inaugurated before the last republican national convention, or before the election, the reforms that have been developed since the polls closed.

As shown by the action of the house of representatives, the president will be supported by the democrats in any sincere effort which he makes to regulate the railroads, to eliminate the trusts, and to reform the tariff, and he is sure to be opposed by an influential element in his own party. Has he the courage to alienate the monopoly republicans in exchange for the support of anti-monopoly democrats? He has seen the democratic party pass through "the Valley of the Shadow of Death" because of the fight within that party over the very question which is now disturbing the republican party. Is he willing to see his party pass through the same necessary process of reorganization?

The republican organization is a monopoly organization. It unceremoniously turned LaFollette out of the last national convention, and when, a few days ago, the committee had a chance to fill a vacancy in Wisconsin, caused by the death of Postmaster General Payne, it took one of the most conspicuous enemies of LaFollette, Congressman Babcock, and put him on the committee in spite of the protest of the LaFollette state committee.

If the president does any reforming he will at once clash with the committee that conducted his campaign. It will not only require moral courage to meet the opposition that now faces the president within his own party, but it will require moral courage of a high order, and if the president has only an ordinary amount of

moral courage he will fail. If he perseveres to the end, he will demonstrate the possession of an extraordinary moral courage.

When the democratic party attempted to reform itself it succeeded, but it lost three elections in the effort. Will the president carry reform to the point of jeopardizing the success of the republican party, or will he compromise and try to patch up a peace with the so-called "captains of industry" who have for a number of years been running the government to their own advantage?

Important history will be written during the next few years. In a battle it is sometimes necessary for a soldier to sacrifice himself to secure a victory for his cause. The victory which he thus purchases can not be enjoyed by him, but his sacrifice makes him immortal. The president is in position where he must either advance at great risk or retreat. If he goes forward he may lose his control of his party—he may even cause divisions that will jeopardize his party's success, but he will lay the foundation upon which an increasing number may build. Has he the faith to look beyond the valley to the mountains? Has he such confidence in the triumph of the right as to be indifferent to the toils and trials that lie between him and a victory for the people? Has he the courage to be a reformer?

SPECULATION CLAIMS ANOTHER VICTIM

The embezzlement of more than a million and a half dollars by President Bigelow of the First National bank of Milwaukee brings the subject of speculation into prominence again. Mr. Bigelow admits that he lost the money speculating in grain. He was using trust funds for his own enrichment and had he guessed right on wheat he could have paid the bank back and concealed his crime, but when the market went against him, his sins were discovered and during the term of imprisonment which awaits him he will have time to reflect upon the evils of gambling. In the case of this bank the wealth of those connected with the institution will probably be sufficient to protect the depositors, but this does not excuse the conduct of the president.

There ought to be laws, state and national, making it a criminal offense for any one handling other people's money to speculate either on the grain market or on the stock market. Such laws would have saved thousands from disgrace and death. They would strengthen trustees to withstand temptation. It is not sufficient to punish those who lose; those who win are encouraged to continue until they do lose.

Not only should we have laws prohibiting speculation by trustees, but we should have laws purging the stock exchange and the board of trade of their gambling features. Aside from the ruin that they bring to those who are led to speculate they affect in an illegitimate way the honest dealers in securities. Object lessons are required to awaken the public to any evil, but surely we have had object lessons enough to show the evils of the stock exchange and the board of trade as at present conducted.

THE WORLD'S SCARECROW

On another page will be found a *New York World* editorial which is reproduced that the readers of The Commoner may know the tactics employed by the defenders of private monopoly and therefore be the better prepared to meet them. Socialism is to be used as a scarecrow to frighten those who, while desiring to have competition preserved where competition is possible, are in favor of securing for the whole people the benefits of monopoly where monopoly is unavoidable. This is not, as the *World* calls it, a new "fad." It is a well settled policy and is being increasingly adopted in this and other countries. The Commoner has for several years advocated municipal ownership of municipal franchises, although it did not advocate the public ownership of the railroads until last July.

The *World's* argument is as shallow as its fears are groundless. It opposes the municipal ownership of a telephone system because it thinks it may develop first into a state system and then into a national system. Is it any more likely to do this under public ownership than under private ownership? The chances are much greater

that the system will become a great national monopoly under private ownership than that the federal government will swallow up the local systems under public ownership. Greed, the great controlling influence in private monopolies, is absent from public enterprises and the popular love for local self-government would constantly work against the absorption of the local systems.

The city can operate lines within the city, the county can operate lines outside of the city and within the county, while the state takes care of the comparatively few lines necessary for intercounty communication. Adjoining states would have no difficulty in making connections. The telephone companies are already consolidating and the telephone lobbyist has joined the railroad lobbyist at the state capitals. Unless the people take hold of the telephone business they will soon be engaged in a struggle with a telephone monopoly national in extent. The same answer can be made to the *World's* argument against the municipal ownership of street car lines. The *World* is afraid that street car systems will extend to interurban systems and interstate systems. The more reason then why they should be owned by the public. It is bad enough to have street cars owned by a local corporation, but it would be infinitely worse to have a national company monopolizing the streets of all the cities. The *World* knows to what extent the interstate railway lines are consolidated; it knows to what extent these railroads now influence politics; can it view without alarm the absorption of interurban lines and street car lines by one or a few great railroad systems? If the people of a city own their own street car lines these lines are in no danger of being surrendered to state or national authority.

Local pride and local interest will offer a successful barrier to absorption if the people are in control. The *World's* argument is really an argument in favor of municipal ownership rather than against it.

Just now we are dealing with municipal ownership and the *World,* unable to answer the arguments in favor of the public ownership of public utilities, is trying to convert it into a national question. Is it afraid that all the gas plants and water plants will be located at Washington, too?

Just now the issue is railroad regulation—not the government ownership of railroads. The editor of The Commoner believes that public ownership is the ultimate solution, but he is anxious to have regulation tried under the most favorable circumstances.

He believes that state ownership of local lines is not only preferable to national ownership of these lines, but entirely feasible. A few trunk lines owned by the federal government would be sufficient to regulate interstate commerce. Not every interstate line need be owned by the federal government. If each state had an outlet over one federal line that fact would enable the various states to agree upon interstate rates and exchange of cars where two state lines formed part of one through line, just as separate and distinct systems now make traffic arrangements.

Jefferson was opposed to centralization, and not without good reason. He said, as the *World* suggests: "When all government, domestic and foreign, in little as in great things, is drawn to Washington as the center of all power, it will render powerless the checks of one government on another, and will become as venal and oppressive as the government from which we separated."

The editor of The Commoner is in hearty accord with Jefferson on the subject covered by the above quotation, and it is to prevent centralization that he has proposed state ownership of local lines.

The *World*, while professing great reverence for Jefferson, is defending the very system which will, if anything can, drive the people to national ownership. The extortion and discrimination that have accompanied private ownership have made many democrats willing to risk the danger of centralization rather than present evils, but state ownership of the local lines offers the benefits of national ownership without its dangers.

The *World* has strengthened The Commoner's position Its warning against centralization will do good, and the absurdity of its arguments against municipal ownership will encourage those who are opposed to the present system with the exploitation, graft and corruption which have accompanied it.

The *World* can quote Jefferson with telling effect against centralization, but it can not successfully throw the mantle of Jeffersonianism over the financial magnates who, through the instrumentality of private monopolies, are despoiling the people of their heritage.

OPPOSING POPULAR GOVERNMENT

A few months ago the *Cincinnati Enquirer* announced that it would no longer support the principles of the democratic party. It did not say this in so many words, but the language of the editorial was such that no other construction could be placed upon it. It has proceeded with its anti-democratic program so far that it has now announced its opposition to the election of senators by direct vote of the people. It criticises the people of Wisconsin for adopting a primary system, the provisions of which include a direct vote on candidates for United States senator. It says that this attempt to secure the election of senators by popular vote "is carrying to an extreme the current fad and heresy of legislative interference with the private affairs of a political party, which is a purely voluntary organization not created or constituted by constitutions or statutes." "Private affairs!" That is good.

The *Enquirer* then proceeds to scold the law-making powers for "tinkering" with the management of parties. It says that the Wisconsin law is a part of the movement "to take the election of the conservative body, which is undoubtedly the balance wheel of our system, out of the hands in which the constitution put it." Too bad! Four times the popular branch of the federal congress has, by more than a two-thirds vote (in fact by an almost unanimous vote) adopted a resolution proposing the necessary constitutional amendment, but this "conservative body" has stood in the way of the change and as Mr. McLean, the owner of the *Enquirer,* lives at Washington he cannot be ignorant of the reason for the senate's refusal. It is because the senate, as now constituted, is so largely chosen by the corporations and so obligated to them that it impudently and insolently throws itself

across the path marked out by the people. Today the senate is the bulwark of organized wealth, and its subserviency to the trusts is open and notorious.

But the *Enquirer* goes farther. It repudiates the whole theory of popular government. It says:

> "A member of a state legislature in voting on a United States senatorship is responsible to his constituents in his own district. If he is a man decently qualified for public life he will not allow the 'instructions' of a state convention, or the action of the people voting at primary elections, to have bearing or influence on him. Every man elected to a state legislature, or to any similar body, is invested with a large degree of personal responsibility and personal discretion. His accounting must be with the constituency which elected him. A senator or representative in the general assembly of Ohio from Hamilton county, when he votes for United States senator, is responsible to himself and his constituents of Hamilton county. The instructions of some fellow who is able to handle a state convention should be of no account to him."

So, according to the *Enquirer,* even though the men who nominate a legislative candidate at a primary instruct him on the senatorial question, he is not bound thereby. The *Enquirer* goes so far as to say that "if a man is decently qualified for public life he will not allow the 'instructions' of a state convention, or the action of the people voting at primary elections, to have bearing or influence upon him."

This is not democratic, and it is doubtful whether any republican would admit that it is republican. It is autocratic and plutocratic. The theory that the people elect a man to do their thinking for them and then invest him with "a large degree of personal responsibility and personal discretion" that the people themselves cannot direct or control, is entirely antagonistic to our principles of government. The people do not elect representatives to think for them but to act for them, and nearly all of the evils in our government come from a failure of representatives to carry out the wishes of their constituents.

It is not enough that a man shall be "responsible" to his constituents, for the trusts are in a position to make any senator independent who will do their bidding. Government would soon be a mockery if the people had no right to direct or instruct their representatives. What is a platform for except to instruct representatives? According to the theory advanced by the *Enquirer,* either there ought to be no platform or a platform is not binding upon those who are elected upon it.

The *Enquirer's* situation is a pitiful one and it is another illustration of the truth that is really too evident to need illustration, namely—that when an editor departs from democratic principles he heads directly and irresistibly toward the aristocratic position that rests upon a contempt for both the rights and the intelligence of the people. Comparatively few republican papers would quote with approval what the *Enquirer* says in the discussion of governmental principles. The *Enquirer* has fallen to a depth where it has but little company.

CARNEGIE'S NEW SUBSIDY

Andrew Carnegie, in his effort to get rid of his wealth, has stumbled upon one of the most successful plans for subsidizing public opinion yet discovered. He has set apart ten millions in steel trust bonds as a fund for the aid of superannuated college professors. The income will amount to $500,000 a year and this will furnish an annuity of five hundred dollars to one thousand teachers, or an annuity of one thousand dollars to five hundred. He has named the presidents of some twenty-five of the largest private colleges as trustees of the fund. What will be the influence of this fund?

First, the trustees can not well denounce the steel trust while they administer a fund drawn annually from the treasury of the trust, and their silence will have its influence upon the subordinate teachers in those colleges. What will it mean to have the leading colleges in the country made silent partners with a great monopoly? It tends to paralyze the educational work which the colleges ought to be doing.

What will be the influence of the prospective annuities on the thousands of professors who will be looking forward to the aid thus promised? How many defenses of and excuses for monopoly will these annuities purchase?

When Mr. Carnegie was simply a successful manufacturer his donations lacked the poison which they now contain. Today he is, next to Rockefeller, the greatest beneficiary of the trust system. Many have opposed his gifts to libraries but the fact that the cities have to keep up the libraries and the further fact that the benefit to each person is too small to calculate—these reasons have led to the general acceptance of his libraries, but in the case of the fund for the aid of indigent professors the natural and inevitable tendency will be to suppress the discussions of the trust principle and trust methods just where they should be most thoroughly investigated.

Now, if Mr. Carnegie will provide an annuity for needy editors, another for aged ministers and still another for superannuated congressmen, senators and politicians, he will have the batteries pretty effectually silenced, and he could establish all these funds without exhausting the sum which he is drawing from the public by the elimination of competition. If he wants to return to society the money he has drawn from it let him invest his money in government bonds and then surrender the bonds for cancellation. The people would then be benefited in proportion as they pay taxes. Or, if he wants to leave a monument, let him build an air-line railroad from ocean to ocean, with branches to the main distributing centers, and give it to the government. Such a gift would yield an annual return to aid the revenues and would regulate rates more effectively than any rate law.

Under just laws Mr. Carnegie could never have accumulated his enormous fortune and it is adding insult to injury to so distribute it as to prevent the reform of the "system."

RAILROAD REGULATION

The senate committee on interstate commerce is now engaged in hearings preliminary to the special session which, it is expected, will be called in October to consider

the question of railroad regulation. The Commoner is in favor of the regulation of railroad rates. It believes that every corporation created by law should remain during its entire existence under the control of the law. Created for a public purpose, the corporation should never be permitted to do injury to the public.

The powers exercised by the state should be employed, first, to prevent the creation of corporations except upon conditions which will, as far as human wisdom can devise, protect the public from injury.

Second, the powers exercised by the state should be employed for the regulation of corporations created by it and for the regulation of corporations which, organized elsewhere, do business in the state. There is a distinction between the natural person of flesh and blood and the corporate person created by law. No state should permit a foreign corporation to do business within its borders upon more liberal terms than it prescribes for corporations organized under its authority.

Third, the federal government should exercise to the full its power over corporations engaged in interestate commerce. The federal government ought not to charter corporations, but it is necessary that congress should exercise authority over corporations created in the various states whenever the corporations extend their business beyond the borders of the states in which they were created.

It is especially necessary that the governments, state and national, should keep under strict supervision and regulation the quasi-public corporations known as railroads, and engaged in the business of transportation. The right of the state to fix rates for commerce within the state is well settled, although the federal courts have interpreted very liberally their power to suspend state rates when, in the judgment of the courts, the rates were not high enough to allow a reasonable profit. The power of the federal government to fix interstate rates is as clear and as certain as the power of the state government to fix state rates. The federal courts have denied to the state legislatures the power to fix interstate rates, and unless congress has the power to act in such matters, we are in the absurd position of having great corpora-

tions engaged in a most important business and yet superior to the states and not subject to congressional regulation. If the railroads could by any possibility establish the proposition that congress has no right to fix rates, they would simply arouse a sentiment that would not be satisfied until regulating power was vested somewhere in such a manner as to be beyond dispute.

Granting that congress has the power to regulate rates, the next question is whether it should exercise this power and if so, how? The investigation now in progress is intended to throw light upon this subject, but it seems hardly necessary that there should be an investigation to establish the necessity for regulation. One need but know human nature and its proneness to profit by the exercise of arbitrary power to know that railroad officials need to act under the eye of officials sworn to protect the public, and not personally interested in railroad dividends or salaries. But to the information that one derives from the knowledge of human nature is added the information that comes from the notorious conduct of railroads and from the confession of railroad officials. That nearly all the railroads have issued stock in excess of the money invested is known, and the collection of dividends upon this fictitious capitalization is unfair to the public. That the railroads have given rebates is a matter of common knowledge, and that these rebates are not only a violation of law but a violation of natural justice is conceded. That the railroads have discriminated between individuals and between places is also known to all. The great congestion of the population in large cities is, to a considerable extent, due to the fact that the railroads have given the cities better rates than they have given to the smaller towns. This favoritism has tended constantly to drive the manufacturing enterprises into the cities, and these manufacturing enterprises have carried the population with them. One only need to know what has been done to know what will be done, and at present it is not only necessary to protect the public from the railroad managers, but it is becoming necessary to protect the railroad managers from the trusts. Some of the great industrial corporations like the steel trust, the oil trust and the beef

trust, direct such large shipments that even great railroads find it difficult to resist the demands for concessions in the way of rates and privileges.

The railroad managers protest against inexperienced government officials being given power to fix railroad rates, but these managers overlook the fact that in reaching a decision the officials will have the benefit of the high-priced talent which the railroads employ. There is no danger that the railroads will fail to present to the officials empowered to fix rates all the facts necessary for the protection of the railroad's rights and interests. In fact, when the action of the railroad managers in regard to rates can be reviewed and set aside by officials, it is likely that the rates will be arranged with so much more fairness than they are now that the board will have less to do than now. There is no danger of injustice being done to the railroads. The great danger is that the railroads will bring to bear upon the officials such a tremendous influence as to bias them in favor of the railroads. That is the real danger. Just as city councils have been corrupted by the corporations operating under municipal franchises, so there is danger of federal officials being corrupted by the railroads which will be interested to the extent of millions in the rates fixed by the officials. But just as the cities have been compelled to risk this corruption rather than leave the municipal corporations unrestricted, so our state and federal governments must risk this corruption rather than leave the railroads to do as they please. As many of the cities have passed up through regulation to the point where they are ready for municipal ownership, so the governments, state and national, are likely to pass through the period of railroad regulation up to the point of public ownership. But regulation is a necessary thing, whether it be regarded as a permanent settlement of the question or as a step toward public ownership.

The more the railroads oppose regulation, and the more they abuse their power under regulation, the more rapid will be the sentiment in favor of public ownership. If all municipal corporations operating under franchises had been based upon actual investments, had been honestly managed and had exacted from consumers only such

rates as were sufficient to pay good wages, give good service and yield a fair return on the investment, there would have been no municipal corruption, and but little demand for municipal ownership. But greed is not satisfied with a fair return. It wants all it can get, and scruples not at the means employed. Experience with municipal corporations has led to the demand for municipal ownership, and experience with railroad corporations has led a large majority of the people to demand regulation, while a considerable number even now go beyond that and advocate public ownership.

Let every democrat who believes in the public ownership of the railroads join with the democrats and republicans who believe in strict regulation, and secure the very best laws possible upon this subject. The president has recommended regulation. Let his recommendations be supported; let him know that the democrats will be his faithful allies in the fight. The democrats are led to do this not only by sound principles but by consideration of party policy. The democratic party could not afford to array itself against a measure designed to benefit the public; it could not afford to become the champion of the railroads in their attempt to avoid public supervision. The members of the democratic party are citizens, and as citizens they will be benefited by legislation regulating railroad rates and preventing discriminations between persons and places. And democrats as members of the party are also interested in having the party win the confidence of the country, and it can only do so by showing itself ready to assist in securing good legislation, no matter by what party such legislation is proposed.

If any democratic official is so situated that, for personal or pecuniary reasons, he feels it necessary to take the railroad's side of this question, he ought to resign his position and not sacrifice his constituency to advance himself. An individual has more latitude than an official. As an individual he acts for himself alone; as an official he exercises a power which he holds in trust, and he can not conscientiously employ it otherwise than for the benefit of those whom he represents.

It is too early to say upon what lines the next national campaign will be fought, but it is likely that some form of the railroad question will enter prominently into the campaign. Democratic officials should bear this in mind and make the record of the party clear upon the subject; democratic voters should strengthen the hands of their representatives and not only encourage them in right-doing but warn them against error. The best of public officials are better for encouragement, and no public official is so bad but that it is worth while to caution and warn him. The several hundred thousand readers of The Commoner can exert a wholesome influence if they will be prompt to communicate their wishes to their representatives in congress and in the senate.

THE GARFIELD REPORT

Some of Mr. Garfield's friends are defending his beef trust report. They point out that that report showed that profits on the capitalization ran as high as 18 to 20 per cent in the case of one company. They also say that Mr. Garfield's critics "seized upon the 2 per cent and ninety-nine cents per head figures alone and derided the suggestion that the packers were making so little money. The fact that the 2 per cent profit is a profit on gross sales, not on capital invested, and that it means that the packers are making immense sums annually, was apparently lost sight of."

Mr. Garfield's friends now point out that "the report says that while the profit on dressed beef was ninety-nine cents a head, the profits on the by-products brought the profit per head to $1.50; and when it is considered that the packers handle millions of cattle each year the volume of their earnings is apparent."

But even $1.50 per head is at wide variance with the figures presented by Cuthbert Powell, who for more than twenty-five years years has been commercial editor of the *Kansas City Journal.* Mr. Powell's statement has been given wide publicity. It showed that the average net profit to the packers is $7.41 per head. Mr. Powell concluded his statement in these words: "Apply the average

profit of $7.41 on cattle, 20 cents on hogs, 50 cents on sheep and 50 cents on calves, to the total number of head killed in a year by the 'combine' packing houses, gives a total profit of $47,727,412. Figuring upon their total capitalization, undoubtedly heavily watered, of $110,500,000, we have 43 per cent, which is ten times what such money would produce if loaned in large blocks upon the open market. Besides this, the trust is heavily interested in the stock yards at Kansas City and Chicago and owns outright stock yards at numerous other cities, together with private car lines, the profits from which are undoubtedly large."

A REMEDY FOR THE TRUSTS

(Written for *Public Opinion* by William J. Bryan, and reproduced by courtesy of that publication.)

For the purposes of this article a trust will be defined as a corporation which controls a sufficient quantity of the product or supply of a given article, not patented, to be able to suspend the law of competition and absolutely or approximately control the price of such an article. The patented article is excepted because a patent is granted by the government for the purpose of rewarding the patentee for a contribution made by him to society in general, and is not only granted for value received by society, but it is limited to a term of years.

It is not necessary to consider at this time what are generally known as natural monopolies. These belong to a class quite distinct from corporations in restraint of trade. It is difficult to have several water plants, lighting plants, street car systems, or telephone systems in one city without great inconvenience and waste. The railroads also have some of the characteristics of the natural monopoly, but there is no good reason why all the steel plants, woolen mills, cotton mills, sugar or oil refineries, or cracker or starch factories should be under one management.

Before seeking a remedy for the trusts it may be well to enumerate the evils for which a remedy is sought. A trust, defined as a private monopoly—and a corporation which, although it has not an absolute monopoly, has such

a control over the product as to materially affect the price and conditions of sale, may, without impropriety be called a monopoly—is open to a number of objections.

First, the inevitable tendency of a monopoly is to raise the price of the product. It is often said in defense of the Standard Oil company that it has reduced the price of oil. That is not true. Insofar as the price of oil has been reduced, it has been reduced, not because of trust methods, but by the inventions which have reduced the cost of refining and permitted the use of by-products. That the reduction in price would have been greater under free competition than it has been under the trust system is evident from the fact that the Standard Oil company, as a rule, sells for less where it has competition than where it has no competition. Selfishness is so widespread in the business world that it is not safe to permit the creation of a monoply and then rely upon the benevolence of the monopolist to deal justly with the public. The fact that most trusts begin with the watering of stock is conclusive proof that selfishness is the controlling purpose of the trust.

Second, the tendency of a trust is to reduce the price of the raw material used by the trust. If, for instance, all the woolen mills were brought under one management and one purchaser bought wool for all of the mills, the natural, if not the inevitable, result would be a reduction in the price of wool. Cattlemen complain that the beef trust is now operating on this principle.

Third, the natural tendency of a trust is to so arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions of labor as to take advantage of the laborer, as well as the consumer of the finished product and the producer of the raw material. At first the attack is made upon the labor organization, and the attack may be supported by high-sounding appeals for the non-union man, but if the labor organization can be destroyed and the trust left to deal with the laboring men as individuals, the result is likely to be disastrous to the laborer, non-union as well as union. While a trust is able to pay larger wages because of its ability to extort a higher price from the consumer, yet it is no more willing to share this profit with the laborer than it is to forego the collection of it from the consumer. If one corporation controls all the plants engaged in a certain industry, then

the skilled workmen in that industry have no choice but to work for the one employer, and there is not the same opportunity for advancement that competition furnishes. The laboring men justly complain of the black list when a number of employers act together and each one refuses to employ a man discharged by any of the others. The private monopoly gives the only illustration of a perfect black list, because with but one employer a man who loses his position at one plant can not hope to obtain a position at any other plant.

Fourth, the natural tendency of a trust is to produce an inferior article. Where there is competition the effort of each competitor is directed toward the furnishing of the best quality at the lowest price, and under this system we have seen reputations established and the character of goods so fixed that the stamp of the maker gave added value to the product. When one corporation controls the entire market, the same influence which leads corporations to push up the price of the product, press down the price of the raw material, and encroach upon the interests of the workman, leads it to use adulterants and inferior material. Where there is no competitor to point out the deterioration and to offer a better product, the consumer is helpless.

Fifth, the trust does injustice to competitors. When there is competition between a number of corporations or individuals, and when a monopoly is prohibited, no one of them will attempt to employ against the others the usual method now in vogue—namely, underselling in one section while the price is kept up in other sections. If a private monopoly is permitted, the nearer a corporation approaches a complete monopoly the more apt it is to attempt to drive a rival out of business by reducing prices in the rival's territory while recouping from consumers in other sections. It would be difficult to estimate the amount of injury done to the smaller producers by the trusts that we now have. Under just conditions, success would depend upon the honesty, the industry, and the business ability of the man who engages in business. Today a man may acquire experience, invest a reasonable amount of capital, and attend to the business with diligence and capacity, and yet be driven into bankruptcy

by some trust which is able to lose temporarily on sales in his vicinity until his capital is exhausted. For that reason it is no longer safe for the ordinary citizen to attempt to engage in an independent business. Under the reign of the trusts the reward goes to the conscienceless rather than to those who possess diligence and capacity.

Sixth, another evil that has grown up with the trusts is the freezing out of the small stockholders. Those in charge of the trust can make a good showing and raise the price of the stock, and then pass a dividend and lower the price of stock, thus manipulating the corporation for speculative purposes or to enable themselves to gather in at a low price such additional stock as they may desire to purchase. It is not only unsafe to attempt independent business outside of a trust, but it is almost as unsafe to invest in the stock of a trust.

Seventh, one of the far-reaching effects of the trust is to discourage the man ambitious for independence, and when this discouragement becomes permanent and widespread, it will mean a tremendous loss in the productive energy of the country. It is said that we now produce and consume in the United States three times as much as any similar population in the world. This can not remain true if we permit a few great trusts to monopolize the industrial system of the country and condemn the wage-earners to hopeless bondage.

Eighth, the trust is a menace to the political welfare of the country, for political independence can not long exist with industrial servitude. If a few trusts control the industries of the country, they will bring such influence to bear upon their employes and upon candidates for office as to make it difficult for the people to assert themselves at the polls. The influence of the trusts has already been felt in politics, but it will be felt still more as monopoly becomes more and more complete, and the control of the industries more and more centralized. Then, too, a single great trust can afford to contribute more to a campaign fund than can be collected by voluntary contributions from all who are outside of the trusts, because the trust can secure in favoritism many times what it contributes, while the mass of the people ask for no special legislation, and therefore can not be induced to contribute liberally to campaign funds.

The objections enumerated above do not exhaust the list, but they are numerous enough to justify the people in resolving to exterminate the principle of private monopoly wherever and whenever it manifests itself.

The first step toward the discovery of a remedy for the trusts is a recognition of the fact that private monopolies can not be classified as good or bad, but must be regarded as "indefensible and intolerable." Nothing but evil can come from an attempt to draw a line between private monopolies "benevolently managed" and others managed by persons who are not benevolently inclined. Managers may die, resign, or be removed. Bad men may be replaced by worse ones or better ones, but the position which a trust occupies before the law can not be determined by the virtue or lack of virtue of those in charge. In choosing between a monarchy and a republic, people do not decide according to the character of the man who may at the time be at the head of the government. They decide according to the principles which underlie the government.

One of the objections to an attempt to classify trusts as good or bad is that arguments made in behalf of so-called good trusts will be used in behalf of bad trusts. But a still greater objection is that an attempt merely to regulate so-called good trusts, without attacking the principle of private monopoly, results in the trusts getting hold of the government and protecting all trusts.

The remedies proposed may be divided into state remedies and national remedies, and thus far the trusts have been quite successful in dodging from the one jurisdiction to the other. Whenever a trust is prosecuted in a state it claims to be an interstate industry, and when it is prosecuted by the federal government it claims to be a local enterprise. While persons may differ as to the efficacy of one remedy or the other, there ought to be no difference of opinion as to the importance of permitting both state and nation to employ their respective remedies to the full.

The corporations engaged in interstate commerce are incorporated under the laws of various states, and each state is in position to place such limitations upon the corporations organized by it as are necessary to protect the public, but it has been found in practice that while

some of the states have attempted to restrict incorporation and to place limitations upon corporations organized within their borders, many of the states have been led to make their charters very liberal on the ground that if they refused to do so other states would secure the advantages flowing from the incorporation. The state of New Jersey, for instance, is supporting its government by a small tax laid upon corporations incorporated within the state, and it has made its incorporation law as inviting as possible. The state of Delaware has entered into rivalry with the state of New Jersey and the laws of Delaware have been taken advantage of by a number of large corporations.

A state can limit the capital stock of a corporation; it can limit the dividends to be paid, and it can limit the proportion of the total product that the corporation can produce or control. In other words, a corporation created by a state can be limited and restricted in any way that the law-making power of the state may consider necessary for the public welfare. As a director is in duty bound to act in the interest of stockholders, the law should be such that the director of one corporation could not act as director of a competing corporation, or as director of a corporation having business dealings with the first corporation. A director of two such corporations is likely to sacrifice the interests of one corporation to the interests of the other.

Besides having the power to protect its people from corporations organized under its own laws, the state has the power, or should have, to place limitations and restrictions upon foreign corporations doing business in the state, but there is a difficulty about exercising this power. If, for instance, a corporation has an actual monopoly of the production of a necessity of life, and a state attempts to exclude it, either by direct prohibition or by restrictions to which the trust refuses to conform, the people of the state may punish themselves while they attempt to punish the trust. Take, for example, the salt trust. But few states produce salt, and the salt trust, if it controlled all the output of salt, might seriously embarrass a state by withdrawing from it. In Kansas the people are attempting to protect themselves from the Standard Oil company by the erection of a refinery; and

if the railroads join with the Standard Oil company to discriminate against the refinery, the people have it in their power to buid a pipe line or even a railroad. Kansas, however, is fortunate in having oil wells; but few of the states are oil-producing, and therefore few of them are in as good position as Kansas to fight the Standard Oil company. While the state ought to exercise all the power that it has, it is not in position to give the people all the protection that they need.

Under the constitution congress has power to regulate interstate commerce and in some respects congress can apply a much more effective remedy than is within the power of any state. Some have suggested the use of the taxing power. While corporations ought to be taxed for revenue purposes, it is questionable whether the taxing power can be successfully used to exterminate a trust. A corporation which has an actual monopoly is in a position to transfer to the consumer any taxes laid upon it, so that the first effect of a tax might be to increase the extortion of which the trust is guilty. Then, too, it would be difficult to levy an internal revenue tax in such a way as to hurt only the corporations at which the tax was aimed. The removal of the tariff from articles which come into competition with trust-made goods would lessen the extortion now practiced and discourage the organization of trusts among manufacturers, but it would not entirely destroy the trusts, and most of the advocates of protection oppose the remedy, although many of them would like to see the trusts exterminated.

The most effective weapon within the reach of the federal government, without new legislation, is the criminal clause of the Sherman law. While it is grossly inadequate, and while the penalty is disproportionate to the magnitude of the crime, its enforcement would accomplish more than anything that has been tried. The long term of imprisonment prescribed for a man who steals a few hundred dollars and the short term of imprisonment prescribed for a trust magnate who is guilty of stealing hundreds of thousands or even a million dollars from the people, show how tenderly the large offenders are dealt with even when criminal prosecution is proposed. But notwithstanding the inadequacy of the punishment, the criminal clause would, if enforced, kill some

of the trusts. A few trust magnates actually serving time in the penitentiary would do more to stop the present trend toward monopoly than any amount of publicity—more than all the injunction suits which could be commenced.

But the Sherman law does not cover the entire field. It only prohibits combinations between separate and distinct corporations or independent concerns. The weakness of the Sherman law lies in the fact that a half dozen trust magnates, if prosecuted under the Sherman law, can evade future prosecutions by selling all of the plants of the various separate corporations to a new corporation, and becoming the managers of it. The steel trust has done this very thing, and so far as the Sherman law is concerned occupies a more favorable position than the corporations engaged in the meat packing business. The Sherman law needs to be amended so as to make it a criminal offense for one person or a group of persons to attempt to monopolize any product, whether the persons are connected with several separate corporations or are stockholders or directors of a single corporation. But it is always difficult to prove conspiracy, and it would be especially difficult to prove it where the persons charged with conspiracy were directors of one corporation.

The abolition of railroad rebates and discriminations would go far toward crippling the trusts. They have profited largely by favors coaxed or forced from the railroads; but some trusts might possibly exist under the strictest regulation or even under public ownership.

There is a remedy which, if enforced, would not only exterminate all existing monopolies, but would prevent the creation of any monopolies in the future. This remedy was suggested in the democratic national platform adopted at Kansas City in 1900, and has since been endorsed by the present head of the bureau of corporations, Mr. Garfield. The plan contemplates a law requiring corporations engaged in interstate commerce to take out a federal license upon terms and condition to be prescribed by the law. Under this plan a corporation organized in a state could do business in that state without interference from without. The people of the state could be trusted to regulate such corporations in their own in-

terest and for their own protection. The moment a corporation organized in any state attempts to do business outside of the state it enters the sphere of interstate commerce, and comes under the scrutiny of the federal authorities. A law requiring a license could be easily complied with by legitimate corporations. If, for instance, the law required a corporation applying for license to show that there was no water in its stock and that it was not trying to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any article of merchandise, it would impose no hardship upon the corporation, because the evidence would be at hand and the legitimate corporation could well afford to take the trouble to secure a license in order to obtain protection from corporations bent upon monopoly.

This plan strikes at the root of the evil, and it strikes in such a way as to disable the monopoly without injuring any other corporations. To be sure the law must be enforced by individuals, and the individuals entrusted with the enforcement of the law might fail to do their duty, but that is true of all laws. Where the law requires compliance with certain specific conditions it is, however, easier to hold the officials to strict accountability.

If it is objected that it might be difficult to determine what constitutes a monopoly, it is sufficient to say that the law can, if necessary, fix the proportion of the total product which any corporation can produce or control. For instance, the law might fix the proportion at 75 per cent cent, or 50 per cent, or 25 per cent, or any other per cent, and say that the control of more than the stated per cent would prevent the granting of a license or forfeit a license already granted. Would such a law be unconstitutional? When this plan was first proposed at the Chicago anti-trust conference in 1899 the question of its constitutionality was raised. There is no reason to doubt the constitutionality of such a law. Corporations are creatures of law and congress has power to control corporations engaged in interstate commerce. If congress can prohibit the carrying of a lottery ticket either by mail or express, when both the vendor and the vendee want the ticket transported, it can certainly prevent the use of the mails, the telegraph lines, and the railroads for the transportation of the merchandise of a corporation

when the purpose of that corporation is to destroy competition and harm the public. A private monopoly has always been an outlaw, and it requires a stretch of the imagination to suppose that the supreme court would so construe the constitution as to protect a corporation in the doing of a thing regarded through all history as unlawful.

In dealing with the question of monopoly two distinctions ought to be drawn. First, a fictitious person created by law ought to be distinguished from the natural person of flesh and blood. The natural man living in any state in the union is, and should be, allowed to trade freely with natural men in other states, and no state would be justified in discriminating in favor of its own citizens as against the citizens of any other state. But this right of citizens to trade freely throughout the United States rests upon a reason, and that reason is that people are much the same. Men do not differ much in height, in strength, or in their needs. The tallest man is not much taller than the shortest, and the strongest man not many times stronger than the weakest. In mental ability men differ more, and yet the average man in one state is approximately the equal of the average man in other states. Not so with the corporation. The states differ in their incorporation laws, and we find one state permitting what other states deny. A corporation may be a thousand or ten thousand times as great as the average individual, and it is not reasonable or just that the corporate giant should be permitted to enjoy all of the privileges granted to the natural man. The natural man has inalienable rights—rights which the government did not give, rights which the government can not take away—the corporation has no rights which the government did not give and no rights which the government can not take away when the welfare of society requires it.

Second, a distinction ought to be drawn between the rights of the stockholder and the rights of the consumer. There is a tendency to regard every stockholder as an innocent purchaser, although no stockholder in a trust ought to be regarded as an innocent purchaser, for he is under no compulsion to buy stock and can always investigate before he buys. If a man buys stock in a trust he becomes a party to all that the trust does. He can not

shield himself behind the fact that he is a minority stockholder and can not control the company. He knows that when he buys a minority interest in the company, and he ought not to be permitted to avoid responsibility after accepting the benefits. The consumer is driven by his God-given needs to purchase the necessaries of life, and he is deserving of more consideration than the stockholder of a private monopoly.

If the license plan above suggested were in operation today, it would be possible to destroy every monopoly which now preys upon the public, and to prevent the formation of new ones. Take the Standard Oil company, for instance; it could not do business outside of the state of its origin without securing a license. To secure a license it would have to make application to certain officials and present the evidence of its compliance with the conditions. The evidence would show that it controls so large a proportion of the total product as to virtually fix the price of oil. It would be denied a license. It then could not use the mails, the railroads, or the telegraph lines to carry on its business, and would have to sell enough of its refineries to bring it within the provisions of the law. And these independent refineries would restore competition and, as no one of them would be permitted to obtain a monopoly, the reign of the Standard Oil company would be over. The same is true of the sugar trust, the steel trust, the coal trust, the cracker trust the starch trust, the salt trust, the harvester trust, the tobacco trust, etc., etc.

It must be remembered that a federal license is entirely different from federal incorporation. The license adds a federal remedy to existing state remedies without depriving the state of any remedy it now has. Federal incorporation would interfere with state regulation or control, and for that reason is desired by the trusts.

As was said in the beginning, the first question to be decided is whether a private monopoly is bad. If bad, it ought to be destroyed, and it can be destroyed. Whether a private monopoly is bad depends somewhat upon whether competition is desirable or undesirable. If competition is desirable, then a private monopoly can not be defended. If, on the other hand, competition is bad and ought to be eliminated, the right of the private mo-

nopoly to exist is not yet vindicated, for the question then presented is whether the benefits of monopoly should accrue to the whole people or to a few. Socialists affirm that competition is bad, and that the benefits of monopoly should be appropriated by the state through the public ownership of all the means of production and distribution. The trust magnate who insists that competition is bad and ought to be destroyed, defends the basic proposition upon which the socialist relies, and the socialist leaders have been quick to recognize the contribution which the trust magnates have made to socialist argument.

There are three propositions, therefore, one of which must be adopted by those who discuss the trust question. First, that competition is desirable and should be protected. Those who take this position are in favor of the extermination of private monopolies and desire the enactment of such laws as may be necessary to preserve competition by putting the competitors upon as nearly an equal footing as possible. The second position is the position of the trust-defender—namely, that competition is a bad thing and that a few individuals should be permitted to destroy competition and appropriate the benefits of monopoly. This is the position that the trust defenders must ultimately take, although instead of avowing it they are likely to content themselves with a general denunciation of trusts, while they oppose any effective remedy. The third position is the position of the socialists, who regard competition as a destructive force and who would substitute public monopoly for private monopoly, the benefits of the monopoly to be distributed by the government to all the members of society.

It will be seen that this question is a far-reaching one, and that it can not be considered without the discussion of fundamental principles. It is a healthy sign that the papers and periodicals of the United States are giving so much space to the arguments advanced in support of the various positions.

A WORD WITH YOU

The Commoner circulates throughout the union; its readers are to be found in every state, if not in every county, and they embrace all classes, from the richest to the poorest, and include every legitimate occupation.

Let me address a word to the readers.

We have the best country in the world; its natural resources are unsurpassed, and within its borders can be found all that is necessary for the support, and the highest development, of the race. We have a population selected from all other nations and commingling of the various European bloods ought to give us the highest type of man thus far produced. We have the best form of government ever conceievd by the human mind—not only the best but the strongest, for, in the language of Bancroft, "Discarding the implements of terror it dares to rule by moral force and has its citadel in the hearts of men."

With such a country, with such a people and with such a government, we not only enjoy a greater opportunity than has ever fallen to any other nation, but we carry a greater responsibility than any other people have borne. Are we making the most of the opportunity and discharging as we should the obligation imposed upon us? If not, is it not time for careful investigation with a view to applying a remedy for any disease which may afflict the body politic? We find that the natural resources of the country are gradually passing into the hands of a smaller and smaller percentage of the people. The trusts not only plan to exterminate the small competitor, but they are tightening their grip upon the wholesale and retail dealer, binding him by iron-clad contracts and throwing upon him all of the uncertainties and contingences of trade, and, while they are oppressing the dealer and extorting from the consumer, they are conspiring to destroy the organizations formed by the laboring man for the protection of his rights.

Municipal corporations have obtained, often by corruption, control of valuable franchises and privileges through which they reap an enormous annual profit, while they monopolize the growth and development of our cities.

The anthracite coal mines are in the hands of a few, and the most conspicuous member of the group brazenly announces that the Creator has made him and his associates trustees for the people. The bituminous coal mines are not yet monopolized to the same extent as the anthracite mines, but the tendency is in that direction.

Nearly all of the great lines of industry are being absorbed by the trusts and the lines of transportation are being consolidated until a handful of men practically control the freight and passenger traffic of the nation. The trusts and the railroads have become so powerful that they do not scruple to put a vast amount of fictitious capital upon the market, and then impudently demand that they be permitted to collect dividends upon their watered stock. The interstate commerce commission, which was appointed to protect the public against unfair rates and discriminations, has been seeking for years to secure an enlargement of its powers, but the railroads have so many of their attorneys in the United States senate that this reasonable request has been thus far denied.

With the closing of the door of opportunity to the wage-earning class, with the denial of legislative relief and with the partiality of some of the federal courts toward organized wealth, have come arrogance on the part of the plutocratic element and desperation on the part of those who feel most severely the injustice of present conditions. The ostentatious display of wealth, which has been acquired without the rendition of an equivalent service, and the mutterings and threatenings of those who feel aggrieved by present industrial conditions—these disturb the peace of the nation and furnish a somber background for our much vaunted "prosperity."

Tenantry is increasing and landlordism is growing. Men who have enjoyed the favoritism of the government are obtaining control of the land, erecting great blocks and buildings, and renting to those who have been disinherited.

Gambling upon the market is being substituted for productive industry, and men who neither sow nor reap but simply control the market are gradually swallowing up the earnings of those who are obeying the injunction to earn their bread by the sweat of the face.

So great is the greed for gain that food is being adulterated regardless of its effect on health, and safety appliances are being neglected that dividends may be larger.

Fabulous fortunes and destitution are found on the same square mile, and while costly dinners and extravagant entertainments are being given in one part of the city, thousands are dying for lack of proper food in the very shadow of the palaces. Hundreds of thousands of children are forced into the factory and the mine when they ought to be in school; the sweatshop is killing its tens of thousands—and were these not made in the image of God? Mr. Robert Hunter quotes statistics to show that in the largest city in the union as many as one in every ten is buried in the potter's field, and yet the revelry goes on.

Not only are vast fortunes being made from the operation of special legislation, or in the absence of laws that should be enacted, but our federal systems of taxation are so designed as to bear lightest upon those best able to pay, and the heaviest upon the masses. Nearly all of the revenues of the federal government are collected from taxes upon consumption, and taxes upon consumption are levied in proportion to the needs of men rather than in proportion to their possessions. For years the manufacturers have claimed the right to dictate the tariff schedules in their own interest while the consumers have, for the most part, sold their goods in an open market and bought in a restricted market.

Corruption at the polls is widespread. The retiring governor of Indiana sent a message to the legislature last winter in which he declared that in some counties of his state a large percentage of the voters was purchasable—in one county nearly 25 per cent. In some precincts of Delaware as many as 50 per cent of the voters are purchasable, while repeating and fraudulent counting have been unearthed in a number of cities.

With the reign of predatory wealth has come corruption, municipal, state and national. Obtaining enormous largesses from the various governments, the great corporations are able to supply large campaign funds and these campaign funds pollute the suffrage and bribe officials elected with the aid of such funds.

Corruption is the natural and legitimate fruit of the perversion of government. Only those who are able to make the government a private asset in business are tempted to contribute largely to campaign funds. It is a matter of business, and money given to political parties is charged up to incidentals. The president of the sugar trust testified before a senate committee that the sugar trust gave to the republican party in republican states and to the democratic party in democratic states. And in each state, it is needless to say, the contributions were made with the expectation of securing favors in return.

In the city of St. Louis Prosecuting Attorney (now governor) Folk found that almost the entire city council was engaged in boodling. And in several other cities the condition has been found to be almost as bad—in Philadelphia probably worse. In California some of the members of the legislature were found to be guilty of selling their influence, and in several other legislatures investigation discloses the betrayal of public trust. Three United States senators have been indicted for criminal offenses in connection with their offices.

The manufacturers have for a quarter of a century yielded themselves without protest to the "fat frying" process, and considered it legitimate to supply the sinews of war for such members of congress and senators as would agree to reimburse them through legislation.

The federal treasury, instead of being employed for the advancement of the public weal, is manipulated by the financiers in their own interest, and money unnecessarily collected from the people is loaned as a matter of favor to the banks, and is thus employed to subsidize the financiers to oppose a reduction of taxation. The money issuing function of government is selfishly appropriated by private corporations until those corporations have come to recognize as a vested right the valuable privilege of controlling the volume of the nation's money. Not satisfied with domestic pastures the syndicates have insisted upon increasing the army and enlarging the navy for the subjugation of distant races and for the colonization of lands to whose people no hope of citizenship is held out.

This is the situation made known to the public with increasing clearness by speakers, newspapers and maga-

zines. What is to be done? Surely it is time for sober reflection—a time for each one to examine himself and to ask, first, whether he individually is guilty of contributing toward the evils complained of, and, second, what he can do as a citizen to accelerate reform. Two things stand in the way of reform—first, lack of knowledge, and, second, lack of courage. But as cowardice is often founded upon ignorance, the arousing of the public to a knowledge of true conditions and to an understanding of threatened dangers is the primary duty. The Commoner is trying to do its part, but its influence is small except as it can enlist the aid of its readers and through its readers and its exchanges a still larger circle. There are two ways of arousing interest—one is to appeal to pecuniary interest, and the other to conscience. At least 95 per cent of the people are interested in such an administration of the government as will protect each individual in the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The farmer has nothing to gain by legislative favoritism. His interest is not in getting his hands into somebody else's pockets, but in keeping other people's hands out of his pockets. The laboring men are almost without exception deeply interested in a policy that will recognize the equal rights of all. The merchant has everything to lose and nothing to gain by the monopolizing of the markets, and but few of the professional men can hope to reap pecuniary benefits from the unequal distribution of wealth which is now going on.

To address a pecuniary interest is humiliating when the appeal can be made upon much higher ground. When we urge the majority—and it is a vast majority—to follow a certain course because it will help them in pocket, the minority uses the arguments as justification for following an opposite course for the same reason, and experience has shown that many are continually deceived as to the side upon which their pecuniary interests lie.

An appeal to conscience can be made to all—to those who profit by existing evils as well as those who suffer from them, and a moral principle is much more easily understood than an economic one.

The Commoner, therefore, appeals to the conscience of its readers and asks their co-operation in the effort

to establish, first, the principle that each individual owes it to his Creator and to society to fit himself for the largest possible service, so strengthening his body, so training his mind, and so developing his heart as to reach the maximum of efficiency in his work. Second, to establish the principle that compensation should be commensurate with service, each one drawing from society in proportion as he contributes to the welfare of society. Third, to establish the doctrine that a government is a thing made by the people for themselves, deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed and to be used for the protection of each citizen in the enjoyment of his natural rights and for the doing jointly of those things which the community can do for itself better than individuals or corporations can do for it. Fourth, to propagate the doctrine that each individual as a member of the party should employ his influence to the utmost to place his party upon the right side of every question and to nominate for office only those who are believed to be capable of performing the duties of the office to which they aspire and in sympathy with the common people.

What can one individual do? That can not be ascertained except by experiment. A little girl, raising her trembling voice to give testimony in a small prayer meeting, is credited with starting the revival that has swept over Wales. The persistent effort of a single individual has accomplished wonders. Sometimes by service, suffering, or death in the line of duty, single individuals have started great movements that have revolutionized communities, states and nations.

What can be done? Nay, what can not be done? If every reader of The Commoner will firmly resolve to do his political duty as he sees it and then will earnestly seek for such enlightenment as he can secure, his influence will soon be felt upon the country.

TAFT'S FREE TRADE ORDER

Announcing that the executive committee of the Isthmian Canal commission had decided to purchase in the markets of the world the material necessary for the building of the Panama canal, the Associated Press says:

"This important decision was reached with some reluctance because it was appreciated by Secretary Taft and the executive committee that there would surely be a great outcry from two great interests in this country, the producers of material and the ship owners, if the purchases are not limited to the American products.

"But it was decided that the money consideration was so great that it could not be ignored, for it was held that in many cases fully 50 per cent more would be charged for the material used in the canal construction than the same goods could be procured for in Europe."

The republican platform for 1904 said: "Protection which guards and develops our industries is a cardinal principle of the republican party. The measure of protection should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad." In his message to congress President Roosevelt went a step farther, saying that the measure of protection should be "more than" the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad. This "measure of protection" which the republican party has so freely given to the great interests that have regularly and liberally contributed to republican campaign funds has not been bestowed as a favor. It has been claimed that this "measure of protection" actually belongs to these people, and that to deprive them of it would not only be to deny them their rights, but would mean the taking of bread from the mouths of the laboring men. American consumers have often protested against this "measure of protection," but whenever it was proposed to give the consumer relief there was "a great outcry from the great interests of this country" and the republican party heeded.

But now we are told that Secretary Taft proposes to proceed in utter indifference to the boasted rights of the tariff barons; that he proposes to ignore the "great outcry" which we all know will be forthcoming.

And what is the republican secretary's explanation for the abandonment of the protective theory? "The money consideration is so great that it can not be ignored, for

in many cases fully 50 per cent more would be charged for the material needed for the canal construction than the same goods could be procured for in Europe." That is the very argument that has been presented for years and for years by the consumers of this country who have protested against a high protective tariff. What moment is it that the money consideration in this instance is large? Enormous though it be it is by no means so heavy a burden as that borne by the individual consumer who for years has found it necessary to pay "fifty per cent more for the material needed than the same goods could be procured for in Europe."

It is a mighty poor excuse that Secretary Taft and his republican associates give. Having asserted the government's right to be relieved from imposition in the way of exorbitant prices made possible by the protective tariff, the administration may find it a bit embarrassing when it comes to answer the individual consumer's plea. Republican orators will find it difficult to explain how it happens that their party gives "protection" to the manufacturers, as a right, while the republican administration goes to Europe for its supplies because "the measure of protection" makes it possible for the American tariff baron to add 50 per cent to the price.

If the republican party is right on the question of protection, then Secretary Taft is wrong; if the party has not been grossly in error, then Secretary Taft has no moral right to avoid the payment of that extra price made possible through "the measure of protection."

There is no doubting the importance of Secretary Taft's action. A Washington correspondent for the Chicago *Record-Herald* likens it to "a Shimose bombshell." While republican newspapers are everywhere insisting that the party shall "stand pat" on the tariff question, Secretary Taft, acting evidently with the consent of the president, abandons the republican position. In the way of showing the absurdity of the republican party's contention he furnishes the most powerful illustration that has ever been offered in the history of a political organization given habitually to error.

Secretary Taft's free trade order places the grand old party of plunder by protection in a very embarrassing

situation. It recalls the novel written by Mark Twain. The reader was carried along with a plot that became more and more intricate until it seemed that the hero of the tale would meet death whichever of the two courses confronting him he adopted. Just as the reader's interest was at its height he turned a page and read Mark's abrupt conclusion of the story in this way: "The reader will not see this story continued in our next or in any other publication. The fact is, the author has got the hero in such a mighty bad fix that he here and now washes his hands of the entire affair."

SOME INTERESTING STATISTICS ON MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

The consular reports are giving some interesting information in regard to municipal ownership in Europe. Below will be found extracts from the report of Consul Walter C. Hamm of Hull, England, and Consul Frank W. Mahin at Nottingham, England. The municipalization of what are known as natural monopolies is going on in England, and where the experiment is tried it is nearly always found to result in great benefit to the community and to the employes. For instance, Mr. Hamm says that the construction of the municipal telephone system at Hull has brought about a speedy reduction in rates. The municipal telephone has reduced the rates in Hull to about $2 a month, and street car fare to 2 cents. Gas is being sold at less than 50 cents a thousand feet, and electricity is furnished at 9 cents per unit.

At Leicester the city has taken over the street car lines, or tramways as they are called, and is going to operate about forty-two miles. The fare is 2 cents, and sometimes the distance traveled is nearly three miles. The gas and electric plants, and water plants, are also in the hands of the public in Leicester, and will run at a profit. Mr. Hamm says:

"The construction of a municipal telephone system in Hull has brought about a speedy reduction in rates. At a recent meeting of the corporation telephone committee it was announced that the charge for unlimited service

over an exclusive line would be £5 ($24.33) per annum to private houses and £6 6s ($30.65) to business premises. This reduction has been followed by a large increase in the number of subscribers. The National Telephone Company has been compelled to reduce its rates for unlimited service to private houses from £10 ($48.66) to half that amount. To what extent this reduction will affect the company in other towns and cities is a matter of interest. It is stated that in the agreements which the National Telephone Company has with practically all the large towns and cities in England, and by which the corporations of those towns granted the company underground way leases, it was made a condition that in case it reduced its unlimited-service rate in any place below $48.66, similar reduction must be made, if demanded, in all other towns. If this is the case, then other cities may now demand the same telephone rate that is made in Hull. Thus the competition in this city may prove beneficial to every city in England.

"A recent report of the comptroller of accounts of the Hull corporation throws some light on the position of other corporation enterprises and the success attending their municipalization. On account of the crematory $530.44 was expended for maintenance and $306.58 was received in the year ended April 1, so that there was an excess of expenditure of $223.86 in this case. On the public baths during the same time there was an excess of expenditure of $1,110.53. In the gas department the profit in the year was $15,380, from which there is to be deducted interest on the debit balance and a sum for the sinking fund, leaving a net credit balance on the revenue account of $2,637. The working profit of the waterworks was $149,893; deducting $12,652, city fund annuity; $57,449, interest on loans, and $8,622 for the sinking fund leaves the net profits $71,162. The revenue account of the electric lighting shows a working profit of $88,696, from which there are to be deductions for interest on loans, sinking fund, and meter installments, leaving the net profit $7,976. The working profit on account of the street cars for the year was $185,238, from which $48,329 is to be deducted for interest on loans and $45,700 for the sinking fund, and $37,400 to be transferred to the reserve fund, making the credit balance for this year $57,500.

"In each instance, then, with the exception of the crematory and the baths, the municipalization of public utilities in Hull has resulted in profit to the city treasury. The profit, it is true, is small, but it must be remembered that the charges for these public services are extremely low. A ride on the street cars in any direction to the end of the line costs only 2 cents; an exclusive telephone in private house costs less than $25 a year, and in a business office about $30 a year. Gas is sold at 48 cents per thousand feet and electricity at 9 cents per unit. The object is not so much to make a profit for the city out of these utilities as to furnish the public with the best service at the lowest possible price. Viewed in this light, municipalization in Hull can be pronounced a success."

The following is Mr. Mahin's report: "An important public improvement this year in Leicester is the installation of an electric street car system in place of the horse-drawn cars. The old system extended nine miles; the new lines, when completed, will cover forty-two miles. The greater part is now equipped with overhead trolleys and is open to the public. It is a municipal undertaking. The largest tramway junction in the United Kingdom is at the clock tower, whence five sets of double track radiate. The fare from this point to any other on the line is 1 penny (2 cents), which pays for a journey, in some cases of nearly three miles. The total cost of the system will be about $3,250,000. For the first half of 1904 the net profits of the municipal gas works were $110,000; of the electric light works, $12,500, and of the waterworks, $44,000. All this surplus goes to reduce the taxes or to benefit the public in other ways."

MAYOR WEAVER'S GREAT VICTORY

Mayor Weaver of Philadelphia has just won a great victory for good government. The corrupt republican machine that is in control of the city of Philadelphia undertook to give to a local gas company a long lease of the city gas works on terms which would yield to the gas company a profit

of many millions. The citizens were aroused and entered a protest, but the city council was deaf to all appeals. Then the ministers held a public meeting and offered prayers for the mayor. The influence brought to bear upon the mayor was such that he determined to antagonize the machine, and with the encouragement of the various reform bodies, the ministers and the newspapers, he made such a stand against the boodlers that the gas company was compelled to abandon the lease and drop the fight, giving as a reason that public opinion was against the company. Seldom, if ever, has there been in this country such a signal triumph for honest municipal government. Mayor Weaver is the recipient of congratulations from all over the country, and The Commoner delights to join in tendering greeting and commendation. But while Mayor Weaver is receiving the largest share of attention, we should not overlook those who organized the fight and so strengthened him as to enable him to overcome a council full of grafters, and back of the mayor and back of the movement there will be found some courageous spirit who initiated the protest and whose enthusiasm inspired others. This person, whoever he may be, ought to be crowned with the city's approbation and with him those who joined in making the protest a success. What has been done in Philadelphia can be done elsewhere. In fact, Philadelphia is notoriously the worst governed city in the United States, and when it is shown that even in Philadelphia conscience can overcome money, there ought to be a revival of hope in every other municipality.

ASSET CURRENCY

Mr. Rush C. Lake, assistant attorney general of Missouri, has been quoted as saying that the recent bank failure at Waverly, Mo., was worse in proportion to the size of the bank than the Bigelow embezzlement. Banker Lewis seems to have taken between fifty and sixty thousand dollars, while the bank's deposits only amounted to $70,000. Attention is called to this at this time merely for the purpose of asking the advocates of an asset cur-

rency to consider what would be the value of bank notes based upon assets if the assets could be carried off in a valise at any time.

LAWSON CHARGES FRAUD

The "frenzied" financiers have charged Mr. Lawson with making threats without carrying them out, but they will have to admit that his article in the June number of *Everybody's Magazine* is specific enough. He charges Rogers, Stillman and Rockefeller (William) with a deliberate fraud of gigantic proportions. He not only charges the fraud but he gives names, dates and details. He declares that they endorsed his prospectus and paid for its publication; that they agreed to protect the stock from a decline and that they, in violation of good faith, put in a bid of their own after the other bids were opened.

Now what have Rogers, Stillman and Rockefeller to say to this? Will they admit that they were engaged in a swindling operation involving millions? Will they deny it and sue Lawson for libel?

The National City Bank of New York city is the largest bank in the United States, and James Stillman is its president. The bank discharged one of its vice-presidents a few weeks ago when the Munroe & Munroe investigation showed that he was in a syndicate organized to boom certain stock by "wash sales." Will the bank discharge its president now that he has been exposed?

Mr. Rogers is the moving spirit in Standard Oil; will his participation in the "crime of the Amalgamated" excite the wrath of John D.? Or will the senior Rockefeller regard it merely as proof of Rogers' fitness for the position he now holds? Lawson has "made good." What a sorry spectacle our great financiers present! Scarcely one of them of prominence but what has been shown to be connected with some dishonest schemes. These are the men who talked so loudly about "national honor" in 1896; these are the men who think they have a vested right to control the federal treasury and dictate the financial policy of the government; these are the men who

stand behind the trusts and the railroads today and resent any attempt on the part of the public to protect the people.

The shipbuilding trust investigation, the Munroe & Munroe investigation, the Equitable scandal, the railroad rate controversy, the Bigelow failure, the Tarbell articles on the Standard Oil, the Russell articles on the beef trust, the Steffens articles on municipal corruption and Lawson's articles on frenzied finance—what sidelights they throw on plutocracy! They all contribute to the education of the people and prepare the way for the triumph of Jeffersonian democracy.

A CONFUSED DIRECTOR

Director Roberts of the mint says: "A great increase in the production of gold means the coining of a proportionate number of coins. There is no limit set by law upon the amount of gold that may be put into circulation. No amount of gold production could lower the value of money so long as the law says that a gold coin shall consist of a specific number of grains of metal. An increased coinage means more money in circulation."

When Mr. Roberts says that no amount of gold production could lower the value of money, so long as the law defines a dollar as so many grains of gold, he is simply measuring gold by itself and ignoring the law of supply and demand as it relates to money. Of course the free and unlimited coinage of 25.8 grains of gold bullion into a gold dollar makes it impossible for that much gold to be worth less than a dollar, but if the volume of money increases more rapidly than the demand for money, the purchasing power of the dollar falls. For instance, nobody who understands the elementary principles of monetary science doubts that an immediate doubling of the gold coin in the United States (the volume of other kinds of money remaining the same) would result in rising prices and falling dollars, and yet this is the very principle that the democrats fought to establish in 1896. Subsequent events have vindicated the democratic position; yet republicans, financiers and reputed experts in money continue to use language which indicates that they do not understand the meaning of the quantitative theory of money.

WHAT GOVENRMENT OWNERSHIP MEANS

(Written for *Success* by William J. Bryan and reproduced by courtesy of that magazine.)

The subject of public ownership is one that is occupying a larger and larger share of public thought. A few years ago the advocate of the public ownership of municipal franchises was discredited by those who are in the habit of calling themselves "the more intelligent" and "the more practical." "Socialist" was usually applied to one who had the temerity to suggest that cities should do their municipal work directly rather than through franchises given or sold to private corporations. Gradually the discussion brought out a distinction between what are now termed natural monopolies and enterprises in which competition is possible, and there was developed a school of political economists who insist upon public ownership wherever competition can not be made effective. Upon this basis a strong sentiment in favor of municipal ownership of municipal franchises has been built up, and, where the question has been clearly presented to the people and their opinion sought, the answer has usually been in favor of such ownership.

The water plant was the first to be taken over by the city authorities. It was found that private ownership resulted, first, in a contest over rates, and that this contest often resulted in the corruption of the municipal body in which was vested the power to fix the rates. Next, it was found that a private corporation having a monopoly of the water supply was slow to extend its lines to accommodate sparsely settled sections, and still more slow to improve the quality of the water where the improvement was likely to temporarily reduce the dividends. The progress in the extension of municipal ownership to water plants has been gradual, but steady, until now it is the rare exception that a city of any size leaves the water supply in the hands of a private corporation.

Next to the municipal water plant has come the municipal lighting plant, whether the light furnished is gas or electricity. At first the city furnished light for the streets; afterwards it began to supply private consumers. While as yet a smaller proportion of the lighting plants

than of the water plants has come under municipal ownership, the tendency is an irresistible one and the progress in the municipalization of these plants is likely to be much more rapid than it was in the conversion of the water plants from private to public ownership.

In some cities private heating plants have been chartered, but the same objections found to private water plants and lighting plants will apply to the granting of franchises to heating plants. Just in proportion as these plants become useful and extensive the objections to private ownership will become apparent. If it were possible to have a dozen private plants running their pipes through the streets and competing for the privilege of furnishing water, light or heat to the inhabitants of a city, competition might protect the patrons, but even then there would be an immense waste in the duplication of plants.

With the telephone system a new field for municipal ownership has been opened, and it is inevitable that, sooner or later, the private telephone exchange will go the way of the private water plant and the private lighting plant. Any one who has lived in a city where an attempt has been made to regulate telephone rates by the establishment of competing companies knows how inconvenient it is to have to patronize two or more telephone systems or to be cut off from communication with a portion of the city. The municipal telephone is one of the certainties of the future.

The municipalization of the traction lines has met with more opposition, because the building and equipping of a car line involves the expenditure of a larger sum of money, and because the operation of it requires the employment of a larger number of men; but, with the growth of the cities, the pressure in favor of municipal ownership is increasing. In Boston a subway has been built which reverts to the city at the end of twenty-five years. The New York subway (the main line) will become the property of the city at the end of fifty years, and the extensions will become city property at the end of a shorter period.

Municipal ownership has just won a signal victory in Chicago. The democrats nominated Judge Edward F.

Dunne and made the immediate municipalization of the street car lines the leading issue. As Judge Dunne is an admirable man, and as his platform also demanded the extension of public ownership to lighting plants and to the telephone system, his triumphant election means much to the public ownership movement.

The debt limit fixed in the charters of most cities is sometimes found to be a temporary obstruction to municipalization, but the distinction drawn by Bird S. Coler, formerly comptroller of New York, between debts incurred for improvements which bring no specific return in dollars and debts incurred for improvements which pay an interest on the investment is a just one, and is finding increased recognition. It must be plain to any one who will give the matter a moment's thought that a municipal plant which brings in an income large enough to pay the interest upon the indebtedness incurred and to contribute to a sinking fund for the retirement of the debt is a very different thing from an improvement which brings no tangible return to the city.

The cost of a surface line or a subway ought to be no greater when built by the city than when built under just conditions by a private corporation, and the city can, as a rule, borrow money at a lower rate than a corporation; it can, therefore, charge less than a corporation would be compelled to charge, even if the corporation's capitalization contained no water. As a matter of fact, the street car corporations in the various cities are usually capitalized for a great deal more than the cost of building and equipping their lines, and the public is compelled to pay dividends upon inflated capital.

In the improvement of the service a city line would respond more promptly to the needs of the public and would be more considerate in the treatment of the employes. The difference would be all on the side of public ownership. Experience in England and in Scotland has shown that a city can take possession of a street car system, increase the pay of the men, shorten the hours, improve the conditions, and lower the fare, yet make a profit for the city; and the same results have followed the taking over of lighting and water plants in this country.

Aside from the pecuniary argument, which, of course, does not influence a great many, the most weighty argugument advanced against the municipal ownership and operation of street car lines is that raised by the employment of a large number of men. The natural conservatism which is to be found everywhere, and nowhere more than in a republic, leads many to fear that the employes may be used for political purposes. It must be remembered, however, that the intelligence of the people at once sets itself to work to remove or at least to reduce to a minimum the evils connected with any governmental action which the people find it necessary to take, and already the friends of municipal ownership are beginning to consider plans for the elimination of the government employe as a partisan factor. A non-partisan civil service is the remedy usually proposed, but it has been found to have three objections; first, the attempt to conceal the politics of the appointee is not always successful; second, the employe is sometimes coerced into the support of the party in power; and, third, if partisanship does not influence the appointment or act upon the employe, his removal from politics lessens his interest in the problems of government and deprives the public of the service that he might render in the discussion and settlement of public questions. In some places what is called bi-partisanship has been substituted for non-partisanship. That is, the employes are divided between the several parties, the political affiliations of the appointees being recognized at the time of the appointment and respected during the service. I am disposed to believe that a civil service system which recognizes political opinions and protects them is more in keeping with our theory of government than a civil service system which attempts to ignore them. Where the politics of an applicant is concealed there are always a chance for fraud and a temptation to unfairness; where the political affiliations of the applicants are known and the appointments divided between the various parties in proportion to their voting strength, the selection being open and above board, there is no chance for favoritism. Where the right of each party to its quota is recognized the employes can perform their political duties without fear, and the activity of those in one

party offsets the activity of those in another party, making it impossible to use the employes as a part of a partisan machine. No government like ours can afford to remove any considerable portion of its people from political activity or penalize participation in the forming of public opinion. With the growth of public ownership the government employes will, of course, increase, not only in actual numbers but also in proportion to the total population, and no civil service system can be permanently satisfactory to the country which does not leave government employes free to perform their civic duties, and a division of the employes between the parties in proportion to voting strength offers the most just basis for appointment that has yet been suggested. Bi-partisanship is entirely consistent with selection on merit through examinations.

While the cities have been considering the question of municipal ownership the subject of state and federal ownership of the natural monopolies within their respective spheres has been forcing itself upon the public mind. Years ago an agitation was commenced for the operation of telegraph lines in connection with the postoffice department, but it has not yet taken tangible shape, the very low rate given to the daily newspapers having made them, to some extent, interested in maintaining private ownership of the telegraph service. Every argument that can be advanced in favor of the distribution of letters and papers by government officials can be made in favor of a postal telegraph system, and with the rapid growth of the telephone monopoly the same question will soon be presented in connection with telephone communication between cities.

The consolidation of railroads, the obstruction of rate legislation, and the constant discrimination practiced by the railroads against persons and communities—all of these are tending to increase the number of those who advocate the public ownership of railroads. Usually those who favor the public ownership of railroads advocate ownership by the national government; in fact, this is the only form of such ownership that has received attention. The arguments in favor of it have been much the same as those made in favor of municipal ownership

of street car lines and other municipal works or plants, and the objections to it have been the same urged against those, with the addition that the federal ownership of railroads involves a centralization of power at Washington which might in the end result in the obliteration of state lines. Those who insist upon the preservation of state lines are not attempting to revive the discussion that once raged over state sovereignty versus national supremacy, but they are actuated by the belief that local self-government is the safety of the republic. Believing that the people can govern best where they are best acquainted with the conditions to be met and the things to be done, those who defend state government and state action believe that the republic is strengthened by the preservation of state lines, each state dealing with matters of state importance. The ownership of all of the railroads of the United States by the national government would throw upon it the employment of an immense body of men, and these men could not be employed from Washington without largely increasing the relative importance of the federal government as compared with the state government, and the removal of so large a part of the government work from the states to the nation would weaken the states' power of resistance to federal encroachments. A system of state ownership for the local network of railroads, coupled with the federal ownership of the trunk lines, would give all the advantages that could come from the federal ownership of all the railroad lines, and at the same time avoid the centralizing tendency of undivided federal ownership. The trunk lines, when once owned by the federal government, would not have to be expanded or extended, while the local mileage is being constantly increased. A system of trunk lines established today would answer the purposes of interstate commerce fifty years hence, while the local mileage will probably be doubled, trebled, or quadrupled, during the next half century.

This dual system of public ownership offers several advantages, among which may be enumerated:

First, it can be inaugurated more quickly. Before all the railroads could be taken over by the federal government it would be necessary to secure a president, a senate,

and a house of representatives favorable to the plan, whereas state ownership can be attempted whenever any state is ready to make the experiment. For instance, Kansas, having decided to establish an oil refinery, may find it necessary to establish a railroad to carry the oil from the wells to the refinery and from the refinery to the distributing centers. Any state which finds it difficult to regulate railroad rates by legislation can try the efficacy of regulating by the building or the buying of a state railroad.

Second, a system of federal ownership could not be undertaken until those favoring public ownership could agree upon a basis of purchase or condemnation, whereas state ownership enables each state to deal with the question according to the conditions to be met in the state and according to the opinion of the people of the state.

Third, state ownership enables the movement to avail itself of experience; as each experiment in municipal ownership has strengthened those who have been advocating it in other cities, so the success of one state railroad would encourage the adoption of public ownership in other states.

The great advantage of a system which permits the federal ownership of the trunk lines and the state ownership of the local lines is that it gives to the people the benefits of public ownership without removing the government from the people or endangering the principle of local self-government, and it makes it easier to adjust the compensation and regulations to the varying conditions in different sections of the country.

The main objection made thus far to this dual system of ownership is that interstate traffic might be embarrassed. This however, is not a valid objection, because the trunk lines would give to every state an outlet for its interstate commerce, and the fact that the trunk lines would furnish this outlet would make it easier for adjoining states to arrange for the transfer of traffic over local lines. It would be easy for state lines to exchange traffic as it is now for the various railroad systems to exchange traffic, the difference being that under public ownership all would be treated alike and every community

would be protected in its rights, whereas now fortunes are built up by favoritism and men and communities are ruined by discrimination.

In Germany nearly all of the lines are state lines, less than one thousand out of twenty-eight thousand miles being owned by the imperial government.

No attempt has been made to present an elaborate discussion of public ownership. The only object of this article is to point out the trend of public sentiment and to indicate what is likely to be the result of the discussion which is now going on. The principle which underlies the propaganda for public ownership is that wherever competition is impossible and a monopoly is necessary the fruits of the monopoly must be enjoyed by the whole public and not by a few. In the case of municipal franchises competition is impossible, and, in the case of railroads, competition has generally been found ineffective. While it is possible for the larger cities to have competing railway systems, a large proportion of the people must of necessity deal with the line nearest to them, and the railroads take advantage of this necessity. Those who favor the public ownership of railroads have long favored a strict regulation and control of railroads and are now heartily in favor of the legislation which is being attempted in state and nation, but they believe that public ownership will be found as much superior to the best system of regulation as regulation is superior to a system under which the railroads are permitted to do as they please.

MR. WINSTON'S EXPERIENCE

The St. Louis *Post Dispatch* (an abbreviated edition of the New York *World*) quotes Mr. John C. Winston, chairman of the committee of seventy, as saying that when the committee sought for an able attorney to represent the people of Philadelphia in their fight against the gas company it found that the most eminent lawyers of Philadelphia were retained in the pay of the gas company or "were within the corporation's sphere of influence." When Mr. Winston tried to interest the larger business men he found that "their business interests were en-

twined with the interests of the United Gas Company." The *Post Dispatch* asserts that men who sympathized with the purpose of the committee were unable to take an active part "because the great business interests entrusted to their care were dependent upon the gas company's favor, or were identified with its piratical fortunes." The *Post Dispatch* declares that the gas company is an "incorporated cancer whose filaments extend to all the vital organs of Philadelphia city life," and it adds that nearly every city in the union has its united gas improvement company or something else of the kind. It concludes: "In all the world there is no other single source of social, industrial and political corruption that is one-half so sinister as the American public service corporation under its present methods of management." And yet the New York *World* denounces Mr. Bryan for saying that every city should own and operate its municipal plants rather than risk the corrupting and extortionate methods of franchise corporations.

BRANCH BANKING

The Nebraska Bankers' Association adopted a resolution opposing branch banking, and the *Wall Street Journal* magnanimously says that "the Nebraska bankers have taken a stand that is quite natural for country bankers to occupy." The *Journal* describes the situation as it would exist under branch banking in this way:

> "If a system of branch banking were adopted in this country it would mean the elimination of the independent country banker. We would then have a few great banks in a few of the great cities, and these banks would have a multitude of branches distributed through the country. These branches would have local managers, whose standing and power and ability to perform valuable service for the localities in which they were placed would be far less than the standing and power of the country bankers today."

Then the *Journal* adds: "It is a question whether the advantages of the concentration which would be produced by a system of branch banking would compensate for this loss of a class of independent bankers."

It may be difficult for the bankers who are to be transformed from independent business men into trust employes to discover "the advantages of concentration." Even in the light of the *Journal's* very mild description of the results to flow from the adoption of the branch banking plan it is plain that public interests would suffer under a system in which the banking power of the country was confined to a coterie of men.

"HAPPY DISPATCH"

Richard Weightman, writing in the *Chicago Tribune,* says that American methods have failed in the Philippines because we have tried to make Americans of the Filipinos. He declares that General Wood is making "distinct progress in his particular line of benevolent assimilation." He inaugurated the work in Jolo, Mr. Weightman says, "by killing several hundred of them outright and only a few days ago he administered the happy dispatch of three hundred more." This tone of levity in speaking of human life is quite characteristic of imperialism, and the more people talk of the "happy dispatch" of subjects the cheaper will life become in the United States. Our methods have failed in the Philippines because we have tried to give to the methods of monarchy the sanction of a republic. People instinctively hate hypocrisy and the Filipinos will resent our government even more than they would the government of a nation which openly repudiates the doctrine of self-government.

THE NEXT AWAKENING

(Written by W. J. Bryan for *Public Opinion* and reproduced by courtesy of that journal.)

The conscience is the most potent force of which man has knowledge. Its decrees are more binding than statute law; its mandates are more imperative than the warrants

of a king, and the invisible barriers which it raises are stronger than prison walls. There is no resisting the conscience when it is once aroused. To satisfy its demands many have faced death without a fear; in obedience to its promptings, and aglow with an all-pervading love, others have traversed oceans, buried themselves among strangers, and devoted their lives to the elevation of men and women to whom they were bound only by the primary tie which links each human being to every other.

The conscience, quickened, has substituted altruism for selfishness as the controlling purpose of an individual life, and so changed that life that instead of resembling a receptive, stagnant pool it has become like an overflowing spring. As the conscience of an individual may transform him from a fiend incarnate into a ministering angel, so the conscience of a community, a state, or a nation contains dynamic force sufficient to destroy any threatened evil and to propagate any needed truth.

There is evidence today of the awakening of both the individual and the civic conscience. In some places this has taken the form of a religious revival where the regeneration of the hearts of a multitude of people has manifested itself in changed lives, changed customs, and changed social conditions. The recent revival in Wales is an illustration of the far-reaching effect of a spiritual awakening. In the United States there have been recent indications of a return from materialism and commercialism to the higher spiritual life, and there is going on a world-wide study of the teachings of Christ as they apply to every-day life.

Sometimes religion has occupied itself mainly with the contemplation of the unknown future life; it is today busying itself more with the life that now is; the emphasis is being placed upon the here rather than upon the hereafter. Sometimes the Christian has sought to prepare himself for immortality by withdrawing from the world's temptations and from the world's activities; now he is beginning to see that he can only follow in the footsteps of the Nazarene when he goes about doing good and renders "unto the least of these," his brethren, the service that the Master was anxious to render unto all.

In an article written almost twelve years ago, Tolstoy quotes a letter written by Dumas a little while before, in which reference is made by the latter to the coming of an era of human brotherhood. Dumas says:

> "Agreement is inevitable, and will come at an appointed time, nearer than is expected. I know not if it be because I shall soon leave this earth and the rays that are already reaching me from below the horizon have disturbed my sight, but I believe our world is about to begin to realize the words, 'Love one another,' without, however, being concerned whether a man or a God uttered them. The spiritual movement which one recognizes on all sides, and which so many naive and ambitious men expect to be able to direct, will be absolutely humanitarian. Mankind, which does nothing moderately, is about to be seized with a frenzy, a madness of love. This will not, of course, happen smoothly or all at once; it will involve misunderstandings—even sanguinary ones perchance—so trained and so accustomed have we been to hatred, even by those sometimes, whose mission was to teach us to love one another. But it is evident that this great law of brotherhood must be accomplished some day, and I am convinced that the time is commencing when our desire for its accomplishment will become irresistible."

Since Dumas thus discerned the early rays of the morning hundreds of books have been written upon the same theme, and thousands have imparted to others a gleam of the truth that has warmed their own hearts. And no one, perhaps, has contributed more largely to the awakening than the great philosopher of Russia, whose confidence in the law of love is so great that he is willing to trust it unarmed and undefended to conquer the armies of the world. Love, Tolstoy thinks, needs not even sling or pebble to overthrow the Goliath of evil.

Who is wise enough to mark by metes and bounds the limits of this awakening? The methods employed today in business are not always Christian—they are sometimes not only unchristian but inhuman. Those who

conscientiously attempt to apply the law of love in their dealings with others must, with increasing emphasis, condemn every form of acquisition which does not rest upon a service commensurate with the reward. Leaving out gifts and inheritances, there is no true basis for the calculation of compensation except that which would enable each individual to draw from society in exact proportion as he contributes to society. A gift can only be defended as payment for service already rendered, or payment in advance for service to be rendered, and the same is true of an inheritance. Whatever statute law may say, the moral law imposes an obligation which no one can conscientiously ignore, and that law requires that much shall be given by those who receive much.

In saying that compensation should be in proportion to service, I do not mean to say that this law defines all of the individual's obligations. While it is the duty of the government to see to it that each member of society shall receive from society in proportion as he contributes to its welfare, there is over and beyond this a moral obligation on the part of each one to regard himself as a steward. To illustrate: The man who with his muscle or his brain can render a service to society ten times as valuable as another man's service should receive a reward ten times as great as the other, but this does not mean that he can use that reward, when received, according to his fancy. While the state may give him a quitclaim deed to his compensation, he must still consider his relation to those less fortunate, and from his abundance assist, as far as possible, those who are in need. These two laws do not conflict. They are rather parallel laws, one guiding within the sphere of state activity, the other controlling in the sphere which lies outside.

It is sufficient at this time to note the effect of the application of the first law—the law of rewards. It will lead each individual to scrutinize his own conduct in order that he may himself conform to this law, not asking how far he can transgress the law without violating a statute but anxious to avoid even "the appearance of evil"; and, second, it will lead each individual to so discharge the responsibilities of citizenship as to make statute law

conform, as nearly as wisdom can devise, to this basic principle. Of the two, the individual duty is not only the primary one but the more powerful one. Just as more evil is restrained today by conscience than by legislation, so in the awakening to which we look forward the application of moral principles to industry and to commerce will have a more potent influence than any written regulations that may be prescribed by state or national authority.

Take the case of speculation. It has been found difficult (although it is not impossible) to so frame a law as to exclude gambling upon the market or stock exchange without disturbing legitimate transactions; but no one can confuse in his own mind the difference between buying wheat or oats or corn because he has immediate need for them or is in position to store them for future use, and the purchase for speculative purposes of grain which he does not expect to receive, or the sale for speculative purposes of grain which he does not expect to deliver. And yet it is the ignoring of this distinction that has caused the undermining of so many characters, the ruin of so many fortunes, and the wreck of so many lives. In like manner the individual, when his ideals lead him to measure life by the contribution which he makes to the sum of human good rather than by the money which he can collect, finds no difficulty in distinguishing between a purchase of stocks or bonds for investment and marginal trading, which is but another name for betting on the market fluctuations.

It is now a difficult thing to so adjust the tax laws as to make each one bear his fair share of the burdens of the government and to so administer the law as to reduce inequality in taxation to a minimum, but the individual who not only follows his conscience but seeks to enlighten it will neither bribe legislators into the enactment of unequal laws nor corrupt the assessor for the purpose of securing an unfair exemption. No bill of discovery or ferret-like investigation can uncover as much property as the conscience can find. It would be difficult to overestimate the amount of injustice which would be corrected by a tax system, or a combination of tax systems, which would compel each citizen to contribute to the support of the government in proportion to the benefits received

by him from the government, and the conscience leads the way in the attempt to devise, as well as in the attempt to enforce, such systems.

At the risk of irritating those who have so frequently (not to say exultantly) buried the money question, it may without impropriety be suggested that even in the selection of a financial system and in the enactment of monetary laws conscience is a better guide than a self-interest which ignores the rights of others. Whether a rising dollar is better for the man with money and fixed investments, or whether a falling dollar is good for the debtor, ought to be subordinated to the question, "What system will best preserve the parity between money and property, and reduce to a minimum the fluctuations, not merely of the metals as compared with each other, but of the measure of value as compared with that which it is to measure?"

Even imperialism is not beyond the sphere of conscience. Our relations with the Filipino are not so different from our relations with each other as to compel us to invent a new theory of government, or to apply principles antagonistic to the conceptions of government which prevail at home. The man who has a selfish interest to serve may delude himself with the belief that he can mingle philanthropy and 5 per cent and still be entirely fair, but the man who conscientiously tries to obey the commandment "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" never confuses the doctrine of sacrifice for others with the doctrine that leads us to sacrifice others for ourselves. Not only do nations sometimes permit commercialism to outweight conscience, but even a church may sometimes put the advancement of its particular form of worship before the propagation of Christian principles; and for this sin an enlightened conscience offers a more effective remedy than legislation can furnish.

But just now our nation is dealing with certain domestic problems in which the quickening of the individual conscience must play an important part. We are passing through strange times. Some men who on Sunday betake themselves to church, join in religious exercises, and listen to the interpretation of the Scriptures spend the remaining days of the week in reaping where they have

not sown, in organizing schemes for the swindling of their fellows, in debauching voters, city councils, legislatures, and government officials, and in extorting unearned tribute from those who are compelled to deal with them. On Sunday they partake of the bread which symbolizes the broken body of the Man of Galilee, and of the wine that symbolizes the shedding of His blood, while during the week they cruelly break the bodies of their fellows and shed innocent blood by methods more refined, but not less destructive, than the methods of the murderer.

Edwin Markham, in his poem "The Man with the Hoe," presents interrogatories that have pricked the consciences of thousands, and today many, when they contemplate some brutalized specimen of the race, are asking themselves as they never did before:

"Who made him dead to rapture and despair,
A thing that grieves not and that never hopes?"

And even those who have not actively participated in the wrong-doing recognize that to them also is addressed the poet's question:

"How will you ever straighten up this shape;
Touch it again with immortality;
Give back the upward looking and the light;
Rebuild in it the music and the dream?"

Municipal ownership will remove much of the temptation that has filled our city governments with boodling and compelled the people to pay high prices for the use of their own property, but even municipal ownership can not go as far as the conscience can in restoring honesty in city government and in eliminating graft.

The president has recommended legislation which will place railroad rate-making under the supervision of public officers. Success to his efforts in this direction! But the necessity for conscience becomes the greater in proportion as the temptations to wrong-doing increase (and temptations increase as greater power is placed in the hands of officials), and while we seek to make rates reasonable and to prevent those forms of discrimination which can be detected, we may well hope for the advent of a business conscience which will make railroad managers spurn as wrong the issue of fictitious stock, and re-

gard as immoral the running of a railroad with an eye single to the advancement of their own personal and pecuniary interests.

The trust question is receiving an increasing share of public attention, but no legislation, however stringent, can prove so powerful a protection to the public as a conscience which will lead its possessor to look upon the private monopolies which now infest the industrial highways as he looks upon the thief who lurks by the roadside and pounces upon the hapless traveler who passes by. And who can distinguish a moral difference between the conduct of the man who, comfortably seated in a richly furnished office, exacts an unreasonable price for a necessary of life merely because monopoly enables him to extort that price, and the conduct of the brigand who, at the muzzle of a revolver, demands your money or your life?

In no question now before the country is the conscience destined to play a more important part than in the labor question. Does the employer give to his employe a fair share of the joint product? Does the employe render to the employer the service that is due? These two questions embrace all that lies between the capitalist and the laborer. Had conscience done its work well there would be little need of labor laws. It is a sad commentary upon the blind selfishness of man that laws must be enacted to protect children from excessive toil; to limit the hours of labor; to require safety appliances and in other ways protect the health, limb, and life of those who earn their bread in the sweat of the face. Nothing short of sympathy, founded upon love and directed by conscience, can close the gulf between the paymaster and the wage-earner.

One of the most hopeful signs recently noted is the protest made by a number of the Congregational ministers against the acceptance of the Rockefeller contribution to the work of foreign missions. Attention has been called to the fact that this protest was commended more heartily by the secular than by the religious papers. While this may at first seem surprising, it must be remembered that the editors of newspapers are human, and that it is a human frailty to criticise more readily those

with whom we are not intimately connected than those who are near to us. It is not unaccountable, therefore, that the papers which have no direct responsibility for the advancement of religious work should have been more prompt to point out objections to the receiving of such a donation. It must be remembered also that the ministers and the editors of the church papers are so zealous for the advancement of religious work that they are sometimes liable to allow the end to justify the means—more so than those less anxious for the extension of Christian work. But making all possible allowance for zeal, it is to be regretted that in the Rockefeller controversy the religious papers have set up a lower ethical standard than many of the papers entirely non-religious in character.

The protest, however, points to a growing revolt against the business methods which are not only defying all moral law but in some instances ignoring the requirements of statute law. It is evident that a powerful movement is at work when men active in the advancement of every form of Christian work will prefer to risk a pause in the work rather than see the church enter into an unholy aliance with commercialism. It is not only an illustration of the effect of conscience or conduct, but it is an evidence of a growing faith in the efficacy of an appeal to conscience. There was a time not many years ago when Mr. Rockefeller's contributions were gladly received and no questions asked. If the recent protest indicates progress, as it most surely does, then the time is likely to come when those who grow rich by immoral methods will be denied the prestige which some now secure by ostentatious liberality.

Greed for gain has raged like a fever, but there are signs of abatement. The standard of measurement has too often been wealth—no matter how secured—but there is evidence of a return to higher ideals. Many have been "hoodwinked into believing" that what Carlyle calls "loyalty to the money-bag" is a noble loyalty, but he speaks the verdict of history when he says:

"Mammon, cries the generous heart out of ages and countries, is the basest of known gods, even of known devils. In him what glory is there, that ye should worship him? No glory discernible, not even terror; at best destability, ill-matched with despicability!"

And in the days to come—may they draw near!—we shall learn anew that "thought is stronger than artillery parks," and that "the beginning of all thought worthy of the name is Love."

A "TAINTED MONEY" PRECEDENT

Some of the ministers who defend acceptance of the money from Rockefeller insist that the church can not inquire into the methods employed in obtaining the money or refuse the giver the right to contribute to Christian work. While there are a few precedents which can be accepted as authoritative, there is one scriptural incident upon which the anti-Rockefeller ministers can rely, for it proves conclusively that the church can inquire into the source from which the money comes, and can refuse to use tainted money for the advancement of church work. The precedent will be found in the twenty-seventh chapter of Matthew, verses three to eight. It reads as follows:

"Then Judas, which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood. And they said, What is that to us? see thou to that. And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself. And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, It is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood. And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in. Wherefore that field was called, The field of blood, unto this day."

It will be seen from the above that "the chief priests and elders" not only exercised the right to close the treasury to such money, but cited a law saying, "It is not lawful for to put them (the silver pieces received by Judas) into the treasury, because it is the price of blood." They refused to accept the money for the treasury, even though Judas came repentant saying, "I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood."

But Mr. Rockefeller might find some consolation in the fact that, while the chief priests and elders would not accept the money for the treasury they did agree, after he had left it with them, to put it to some good use. They took counsel and used the money to buy a potter's field to bury strangers in. Now the potter's field is the place where the poor are buried—those who leave so little that the family can not buy a lot in the cemetery. Mr. Robert Hunter in his book on "Poverty" presents statistics to show that sometimes as many as 10 per cent of those who die in the city of New York are buried in the potter's field.

This is the best precedent that has been found for dealing with the Rockefeller contribution, although in the Rockefeller case the element of repentance is lacking. But possibly the religious boards might overlook the absence of repentance and agree to use for the purchase of potters' fields whatever money Mr. Rockefeller desires to give the church. Having aided in making a great many people poor, it might be some consolation to him to furnish them a last resting place. And if the term "potter's field" seems harsh, why not call the fields bought with his money "Rosebeds," for did not his son compare the methods of the trust with the plucking of the weaker rosebuds, that the remaining rosebuds might enjoy the strength that nature intended for all of them?

Until some one finds a more authoritative precedent let tainted money be used for the purchase of potter's fields, or rosebeds.

A TRUST'S VIEW OF TRUSTS

The *Shareholder*, published in New York, has an interesting comment upon the last session of congress. The editor of the *Shareholder* is afraid that the president

"listens too much to popular clamor in his efforts to curb the trusts," although it seems to think that he is not going to be able to injure the trusts much. In fact, the editor ventures to say that "the people know less about the way to handle trusts than they did six months ago," and that the remedy for the trusts is actually farther off than it has been for some time. He declares that "the movement to curb the trust evil, to use a homely phrase, has been flabbergasted."

The editor of the *Shareholder* then goes on to explain that nothing has been done because "our moneyed men are opposed to any change in existing conditions. The very moment any measure is proposed they set all the machinery at their command against it, and at once that particular measure is doomed. This thing has so frequently happened that close observers of affairs almost despair of accomplishing anything in the way of curbing trust evils."

The editor of the *Shareholder* thinks that the best policy is to favor the trusts and to ask no concession from them unless it can be shown that it is positively to their advantage to grant it. The position of our great corporations is to be made better rather than worse. This is the remedy of the *Shareholder*. It presents the views of those who are defending the trusts; but the work of education goes on, and the day of redemption from trust rule draws nearer.

A LAWYER'S CONSCIENCE

When the people of Philadelphia wanted a lawyer to fight the gas company they found all the leading attorneys of the city retained by the company. This raises a question: To what extent is the lawyer justified in accepting a fee from the corrupt corporations which dominate city politics? Has a lawyer's conscience anything to do with his professional conduct? or can the word "lawyer" be used like charity and cover "a multitude of sins?" A lawyer can not conscientiously help another to do what he could not conscientiously do himself. There can be no double standard of morality, one for the man in

his personal relations and the other controlling him in his capacity as an attorney. If the respectable lawyers would refuse to assist in jobbery, the corporations would soon have to give up their corrupt practices, but as long as lawyers of standing accept retainers from the franchise holding corporations it will be difficult for the people to protect themselves. Whenever the lawyer's conscience becomes stronger than his desire for a fee he will find no difficulty in drawing the line accurately between the lawyer's duty and the lawyer's opportunity.

ROOSEVELT, PEACEMAKER

"Blessed are the peacemakers"—and all Americans should rejoice that it was an American president who proposed peace to Russia and Japan. It is sad to think that any international dispute can reach a point where bloodshed is demanded by either side, but it is gratifying that reason has at last been restored—its temporary dethronement was followed by an awful sacrifice.

President Roosevelt deserves credit for seizing upon an early moment to tender the good offices of the nation and it is fortunate that our country's attitude toward both of the belligerents is so friendly as to make it proper for us to take the initiative. It is to be hoped that the negotiations will be conducted in such a spirit of fairness as to make the peace a permanent one. In the meantime, the people of Russia are likely to find the time ripe for the securing of governmental reforms, and if the czar's embarrassment results in the granting of constitutional government the nation will gain rather than lose by Japan's victory, whatever the terms agreed upon by the peace commissioners.

"MAN"

(This address was delivered by Mr. Bryan at the commencement exercises of the Nebraska State University at the Auditorium in Lincoln, June 15, 1905, and also at the commencement exercises of his Alma Mater, Illinois College.)

The Psalmist asks of Jehovah, "What is man, that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man, that thou visitest him?" And answering his own question he adds:

"For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor."

Man, in the sense in which the term describes the human being to whom the Creator has given dominion over earth, and air and sea, and upon whom He has imposed responsibilities commensurate with capabilities and possibilities—man, as thus defined, is an appropriate theme for an occasion like this, and its consideration is worthy not only of those who, having completed the course of study prescribed by this institution, go forth to meet life's problems, but worthy also of the thought of those of us who are older.

Miracle of miracles is man! Most helpless of all God's creatures in infancy; most powerful when fully developed, and interesting always. Led in youth by the parent's hand, he becomes, during maturity, the staff of those who led him and, in age, he is again helpless and must look for assistance to his children and his children's children. He is ever both instructor and pupil, teaching while he is being taught, daily exerting an influence while he receives impressions from his environment and carrying through life a power to help and harm, little less than infinite. What incalculable space between a statue, however flawless the marble, however faultless the workmanship, and a human being "aflame with the passion of eternity."

If the statue can not, like a human being, bring the gray hairs of a parent "in sorrow to the grave," or devastate a nation, or with murderous hand extinguish the vital spark in a fellow being, neither can it, like a human being, minister to suffering mankind, nor scatter gladness "o'er a smiling land," nor yet claim the blessings promised in the Sermon on the Mount. Only to man, made in the divine likeness, is given the awful power to choose between measureless success and immeasurable woe.

Man shares with the animal a physical nature—he has a body, the citadel of the mind, the temporary tenement of the soul. It is necessary that this link in the endless chain that connects the generations past with the gen-

erations yet to come shall be made as strong as conditions, heredity and environment will permit. Infinitely varied are the physical capabilities bequeathed to us by our ancestors. Some of us are heirs to virtuous estates with which no courts can interfere; some of us bear in our bodies the evidence of ancestral sins and are living proof of the fact that the iniquities of the parents are visited upon the children. All of us inherit both weaknesses and elements of strength. It is within our power to conserve and to increase the strength that has come down to us, and it is also within our power to dissipate the physical fortune which we have received. Nothing but a proper conception of the creature's stewardship under the Creator can protect the individual from the rust of inaction, the wear of excess and the waste that arises from a perverted use of the powers of the body.

If civilization can be defined—and I know of no better definition—as the harmonious development of the human race, physically, mentally and morally, then each individual, whether his influence is perceptible or not, raises the level of the civilization of his age just in proportion as he contributes to the world's work a body, a mind and a heart capable of maximum effort. No one lives unto himself or dies unto himself. The tie that binds each human being to every other human being is one that can not be severed. We can not without blame invite a physical weakness that can be avoided or continue one which can be remedied. The burdens to be borne are great enough to tax the resources of all when service is rendered under the most favorable conditions; no one has a right to offer less than the best within his power.

Every kind of sport, every form of exercise that contributes to the development of the body, without mental deterioration or an impairment of the moral forces, can be encouraged. Not only does the body demand attention in the growing years, but it requires continuous care throughout the entire life. A stunted body is the penalty for overwork in the child, a weak body the penalty of lack of exercise, but nature's punishments are not visited upon youth alone. The overworked or underfed man or woman can not escape nature's penalty, neither

can those escape who, fancying themselves more fortunate, invite the evils of idleness and overfeeding. An eminent Swiss, Carl Hilty, in his book on "Happiness" declares that regular employment at some work which satisfies the conscience and the judgment is essential to any true enjoyment of life, and Tolstoy quotes with approval the opinion of the Russian writer, Bonderef, who insists that systematic manual labor is a religious duty as well as a physical requirement. If any one supposes that education should relieve him from a personal knowledge of bread-labor—"the primary struggle with nature"—he is in grievous error. At present the strength of the race is materially lessened by the decay consequent upon the idleness of those who have come to regard physical toil as a disgrace (unless endured for amusement), and the average length of life is shortened by those who convert the normal function of eating into gluttony. Those who approach life in the right spirit and seek the highest development must in the very beginning understand the importance of so mastering the body and its forces as to make them potent for good. In the care of the body three things are necessary: First, food sufficient in quantity and proper in quality to insure growth until maturity and health afterwards. At present we have at one extreme those who suffer from lack of nourishing food and at the opposite extreme those who ruin their health with high living. Second, the body needs exercise sufficient in quantity and kind to keep it in good working order. At present a large number, young and old, work too long, while, on the other hand, many do not work at all. Third, the body needs rest sufficient for recuperation. Today a portion of the population have too little opportunity for rest, while others rest until they become weary of resting.

It is hardly necessary to add that no habit, however pleasant it may be, can with wisdom be acquired or with safety continued which increases the probability of sickness, tends to weaken the body in the struggles with diseases, or in any other way impairs the vital forces. The total drain upon the nation's strength resulting from the use of liquor and tobacco can scarcely be estimated, not to speak of other forms of dissipation.

But man must be more than a perfect animal; he does not rise above the level of the beast if he permits his

thoughts to rest entirely upon blood, and bone and muscle. The prolongation of life would scarcely be worth the effort, or the warding off of disease reward the care, if there were not more in human life than food, toil and rest.

The presence of these graduates, attended by parents, relatives and friends, is evidence that there is in this community a recognition of the importance of the training of the mind. The scholastic course prescribed by our educators and paid for out of the productive labor of the state represents a considerable pecuniary outlay. No compulsory legal requirements are necessary to convince a large majority of the parents of the short-sightedness of denying to a child the mental training given by our schools. From the first day in the kindergarten to the last day in the university the student follows a path marked out by discriminating wisdom and guarded by sympathetic interest. Those who are foolish enough to exchange the permanent advantage of an education for the temporary gain of remunerative employment have, as a rule, a protracted season of repentance. As the workman gains rather than loses by the time employed in sharpening his tools, so the student accumulates more capital by careful preparation than he can by too early an entrance upon money making. There is in some quarters a disposition to regard what is contemptuously called "book-learning" as of little value except in the professions. No error can be more harmful, and it arises from a misconception of the purpose of education. Books are not to be despised; they contain the best thought of the authors and these best thoughts are again sifted by time. While one should know people as well as the written page, still books are faithful friends.

Even if the student's thoughts were centered upon himself there could be no excuse for inadequate preparation or for the attempt sometimes made to substitute technical training for general instruction. But when it is remembered that instruction is not purely for the benefit of the individual, but for the public as well, the importance of a liberal education becomes still more apparent. The person who understands the fundamental principles of science can render a larger service than one who is ig-

norant of the lines along which nature acts; mathematics teach exactness in thought and argument; literature and language give readness, expression and illustration, while history equips us with that knowledge of the past which is essential to a proper estimate of the future. And how shall we excuse the blindness of those—if there be such—who, believing in popular institutions, would deny to the masses a knowledge of political economy, sociology and the science of government—a knowledge so useful in the discharge of the high duties of citizenship? Whether a boy intends to dig ditches, follow the plow, lay brick upon brick, join timber to timber, devote himself to merchandising, enter a profession, engage in teaching, expound the Scriptures, or in some other honorable way make his contribution to society, I am anxious that he shall have all the education that our schools can furnish. He will do better work for his education; he will have his mind for his companion and will not be tempted to loaf upon the streets when the day's work is done, and he will be in a position to demand reasonable conditions, reasonable terms and reasonable compensation for those who toil.

Where an education has seemed to be a detriment in business or has yielded a less dividend than might properly be expected, it can be traced to a deficit in purpose rather than to a surplus of learning.

And this leads us to the consideration of the necessity for a moral development to accompany mental training. An athlete bent on mischief can do more harm than a dwarf or an invalid; and so, a well disciplined mind, misdirected, is capable of doing more serious damage than an ignorant mind. Society is poorly repaid for the money spent upon education if the one who profits by the expenditure feels ashamed to co-operate with those whose toil supplies him with food and clothing. That labor is dignified, that work is honorable, is a truth that needs to be impressed upon every young man and upon every young woman. It is worthier by far to add something to the world's store of wealth than to spend the money that others have earned. We must have food, and clothing and shelter, and we must earn these things or some one must give them to us. A young man's self-respect ought to make him ashamed to sponge

upon the world for a living; he ought to insist upon repaying with interest the service which society renders him; and this rule applies to young women as well as to the young men, for the forms of service are infinite and the return that women make to society is as valuable as the return made by men. The essential thing is that each person, man or woman, shall recognize the obligation to contribute in helpfulness.

There is no place for the drone in human society, and as public opinion becomes more enlightened we shall give less regard to those, however refined or well educated, who consult their own pleasure at the expense of others and more consideration to the bread-winners whose hands are calloused and whose brows are acquainted with perspiration.

There is evident on every side a distortion of view as to the relative desirability of a life of productive labor as compared with a life of luxurious ease, and a widening gulf seems to divide the two. This should not be true. The bud, blooming in beauty and fragrance, might as justly scorn the roots of the rosebud because they come into contact with the soil, as that any man, however trained in mind or supplied with means, should hold in contempt those who with brain and muscle coax the annual crop from mother earth, fashion the fabric which protects him from heat and cold, or bring fuel from the coal mines.

An education is incomplete which does not place a noble purpose behind mental training and make the hands willing to work. The work should ultimately be the largest work of which the hands are capable, but at all times it should be the work that most needs to be done. That education is also defective which so inflames one's vanity or so shrivels one's heart as to separate him in sympathy from his fellows. Education has been known to do this —yes, education has even been known to make a graduate ashamed of his parents. A Chicago paper recently reported such a case. A mother who had been denied the advantages of the schools, but who had by economy and sacrifice enabled her son to attend college, visited him after he had established himself in the practice of the law. She had looked forward for years to his success, and start-

ed upon her visit with great expectation. She soon learned, however, that her presence embarrassed her son—that he did not want his clients to know that she was his mother. Her heart was broken, and as she waited at the depot alone for the train that would bear her back to her humble home, she poured forth her sorrow in a letter. If I thought that any of those who receive their diplomas on this glad day would allow their superior advantages to lessen their affection for their parents or to decrease their devotion to them, I would wish them children again. Better loving companionship than intellectual solitude, but there is no reason why the scholar should be less a son or daughter. Head and heart should be developed together, and then each forward step will bring increasing joy, strengthen family ties and make early friendship more sacred.

If he is culpable who shrinks from full participation in the work of this struggling world, or shirks the responsibilities which he is by education prepared to assume, still more culpable are those who, by employing their talents against society, prey upon those who supplied their training. If by force or fraud or cunning one seeks to appropriate to his own use that which he has not earned, he turns against the public the weapons put into his hand by the public for the promotion of the common weal.

The old-fashioned methods of wrong-doing are everywhere condemned, but Professor Ross of the Nebraska University has pointed out some of the new methods of wrong-doing which do not bear the odium which they deserve. He calls attention not only to the dishonesty involved in the adulteration of food, but to the actual bodily harm done by the mercantile use of the poisons. There has been an enormous increase in the quantity of adulterants used and a [illegible] lack of conscience manifested among those who find a profit in the practice of dangerous impositions. Professor Ross also presents some statistics to show the mortality due to the failure to use safety appliances—the lives of employes being coined into larger dividends for the benefit of the stockholders. But not all of those who make misuse of their intelligence are engaged in either the adulteration of food or in doing bodily harm through unprotected machinery. The pecuniary

damage done by the market speculator is even greater. The gross sum every year abstracted from the pockets of the wealth producers by the misuse of the stock exchange and the chamber of commerce is enormous, for this sum not only includes that which is lost by those who yield to the temptation to sit in the game of speculation with the manipulators of the market, but it includes that still larger sum which measures the injury done legitimate dealers who are the innocent victims of man-made fluctuations.

I know of no more imperative need today than that there should be a clear recognition of the law of rewards, namely, that each person is entitled to draw from society in proportion as he contributes to the welfare of society. This law is fundamental. It conforms to that sense of justice which forms the broad basis of social intercourse and a firm foundation for government. This sense of justice is offended when any one, either through the favoritism of government or in defiance of government, acquires that for which he has not given an equivalent. There are certain apparent exceptions, but they will upon examination be found to be only apparent or to present evidence of an attempted approximation to the standard. For instance, by general consent there is acquirement by right of discovery. A man finds something of which man has not before known, and although the discovery may not have caused him great effort, yet it may be of great value. There is justice in giving him a reasonable compensation out of the thing which he has discovered, but the fact that the government under whose jurisdiction the land lies limits by metes and bounds the land which the pioneer may claim is evidence of an effort to fix a relation between service and compensation. And so if one discovers precious metals the law determines the amount of land that can be claimed under the discovery. The inventor, also, in return for the benefits conferred upon society, is given a temporary monopoly of the sale of the thing invented, but the fact that he is protected for a limited time only is another proof of the general desire that the reward collected from society shall be proportioned to the benefit conferred upon society. It is hardly necessary to add that in the case of an invention the attempt is often a

crude one, the inventor in many cases losing in large part or entirely the protection intended for him, while some one prepared to furnish money for experimentation receives the lion's share of the benefits.

The inheritance would seem to furnish the most notable exception to the rule of rewards and yet it can not really be considered an exception, for a man's right to provide for those dependent upon him is as sacred as his right to provide for himself, and the mutual obligations between parent and child take inheritances out of the ordinary rules of property, and yet even in this case the graded taxes now imposed upon inheritances in various states—and they should be imposed in all states—indicate a tendency to limit the testamentary disposition of property. Gifts are either, first, an expression of affection or friendship, or, second, payment for service rendered or payment in advance for service to be rendered to the donor or to others.

But turning from the exception to the rule, what could be more salutary today than a universal recognition of this law of rewards? If instead of measuring success by the amount received each one measured success by the amount actually earned, what a transformation would be wrought in the world! If each one were so perfectly under self-control and so attached to a high ideal as not to desire more from the world than a just reward for his contribution to the world's welfare, society would present a changed appearance. Nearly all injustice, nearly all of "man's inhumanity to man," can be traced to an attempt on the part of the wrong-doer to obtain something for nothing or something for which only part payment is offered. A conscientious application of this law of rewards would not only go far toward adjusting disputes between labor and capital, but it would go far toward removing the barriers between the classes. The employe to make a just complaint against his employer shows that the latter is claiming a larger share of the joint profit than is his due, and the employer to bring a just indictment against his employe alleges that the employe is seeking a larger compensation than he has earned. There would be little difficulty in adjusting hours of labor and the conditions of labor if the primary question of participation in profits could be adjusted, and that

adjustment can not be equitably made upon any other basis than that of equivalent values. With universal acquiescence in this rule the usurer would disappear, carrying his train of evils with him; with the establishment of this rule the stock jobber and the market gambler would cease to disturb the law of supply and demand, and the reign of watered stock and of exploitation would be at an end. The observance of this rule would make factory laws unnecessary and relieve from premature toil hundreds of thousands of children who now, to the shame of our civilization and to the permanent harm of our country, become sullen supporters of the family when they should enjoy the delights of childhood and the advantages of school. Those who, instead of trying to see how much they can squeeze out of the world, are anxious to give to the world a dollar's worth of service for a dollar's worth of pay, are protected against every form of swindling, for the "get-rich-quick" schemes which spring up and impose upon the public until they are exposed and driven out, always appeal to the speculative spirit, and lead their victims to expect something for nothing.

It must not be understood, however, that the law of rewards comprehends all of one's obligations. There is a clear distinction between justice and benevolence. Justice requires that each person shall be secure in the enjoyment of that which he earns, but there is something better than justice. True, the elimination of injustice is greatly to be desired, but if the world contained nothing more comforting there might still be a vast amount of suffering and woe. After the government has exhausted human wisdom in the effort to so adjust rewards as to secure to each person a fair and just compensation for all that he does, religion steps in and suggests a still higher and broader rule. Justice would leave the individual to suffer for his own errors and to pay the penalty for his own mistakes, but love, as taught in the Bible and exemplified by the Author of our religion, teaches us "to feel another's woe" and to bear one another's burdens. If sickness overtakes a neighbor it does not satisfy the conscience to say: "He brought it upon himself, let him suffer." If a wife is impoverished by the dissipations of a

husband it does not satisfy the conscience to say: "She ought to have known better than to marry him," or "She ought to leave him." If a child is left friendless it does not satisfy the conscience to say: "It is not my child; I owe it nothing." In a multitude of ways we are daily brought face to face with the fact that this world needs something more helpful, more encouraging, more uplifting than justice, and love supplies this need. A high ideal of life, therefore, leads us to be more exacting with ourselves than we are with others. We must use a larger measure when we estimate society's claims upon us than when we calculate our claims upon society, for while we have a right to expect from society a fair compensation for what we do, we are in duty bound to make to society a contribution which no legal definition can measure.

Those who attempt to construct the world without reference to the spiritual forces which are at work defend altruism on the ground that it is an enlightened self-interest; they contend that the doing of good to others, even sacrificing for others, yields a reward in pleasure. The difficulty about the philosophy that rests upon such calculations is, first, that it is impossible for one to look far enough ahead to form any accurate opinion as to the time or manner in which the reward is to come, and second, that time spent in calculation can better be spent in acting. The person who attempts to keep a book account of the good he does, does not, as a rule, do enough good to justify an entry in the book; the spirit that leads him to keep the account continually hampers him in his work. Life is made up of an innumerable number of small acts, not considered worth doing by those who are guided by selfish considerations. Of the countless millions of kind and generous acts done, but few would have been done had it been necessary to reason out just in what way the bread "cast upon the waters" would return.

The spring is the best illustration of a life conforming to the Christian ideal. As the spring pours forth constantly of that which refreshes and invigorates, seeking nothing in return, and asking not who is to be the recipient of its bounty, so a life consecrated to a noble purpose pours forth a constant flood of helpfulness; and

man is as little able to follow through succeeding generations the good that he does as the spring is to trace the refreshing influence of its waters.

I have dwelt at length upon the ideal because it is of transcedent importance both to the individual and to those about him. Whether life is a success or not depends far more upon the moral purpose than it does upon the health or mental strength of the individual. History is replete with instances where men and women have accomplished much in spite of great physical infirmity. Helpless cripples and persons deformed have sometimes won a fame denied to athletes and to gladiators; sightless eyes have often beheld spiritual beauties which multitudes have failed to find; the bed of the invalid has sometimes been a throne from which have flown blessings greater than a monarch can bestow. Not only has a high purpose overcome physical obstacles, but it has often made up for the lack of educational advantages. In innumerable cases an uneducated person, inspired by love for a great cause and filled with zeal, has surpassed those far better equipped, but lacking a compelling purpose.

If I were gifted with the power to penetrate the future and could discern the careers which lie before the graduates of this day, I would doubtless note a wide difference in accomplishments. Making allowance for different standards of measurement, some will be more successful than others; some will surprise their friends by the progress which they make, other may prove a disappointment, and the ideal which today lies within each heart, or may hereafter be planted there, will have more to do in explaining the success or failure than the studies that have been pursued here—more than any health report would indicate.

In the Memorabilia of Socrates you will find an interesting description of the choice of Hercules. The great philosopher quotes another Greek in substance as follows:

> "When Hercules was advancing toward the period when the young begin to give intimations whether they will enter life by the path of virtue or by that of vice, he went forth into a solitary place and sat

down perplexed as to which of these two paths he would pursue. Two maidens appeared before him, one in gaudy attire and with froward manner said: 'Hercules, if you will follow the path that I point out you shall taste of every species of pleasure, and lead a life free from every sort of trouble. Your whole time will be occupied in considering what meat or drink will please you, and what will most delight you.' Hercules asked her name, and she replied: 'My friends call me Happiness but those who hate me give me to my disparagement the name of Vice.'

"The other maiden, more reserved in manner and more modest in demeaner said to him: 'Hercules, I shall not deceive you. The path that I point out is full of labors, full of trials, full of difficulties, but it is a path that leads to immortality. If you seek to be beloved by your friends you must serve your friends. If you desire to be honored by any city, you must benefit that city; if you wish to be admired by all Greece for your merit you must endeavor to be of service to all Greece.' And her name was Virtue."

That which is told in story by the ancient philosopher is set forth in the form of an injunction by the Master, for when his disciples asked who should be greatest in the kingdom of heaven, he answered: "Let him who would be chiefest among you be the servant of all." Thus, if we seek authority from history—whether profane or sacred—we find that he is the greatest who does the most of good. This is the law from which there is no appeal—a law confirmed by all experience, a law proved by the inscriptions upon the monuments reared by grateful hands to those whom the world calls great.

And what an opportunity for service this age presents! If I had my choice of all the ages in which to live, I would choose the present above all others. The ocean steamer and the railway train bring all the corners of the earth close together, while the telegraph—wire and wireless—gives wings to the news and makes the events of each day known in every land during the following night. The printing press has popularized knowledge and made it possible for each one who desires it to possess

a key to the libraries of the world. Invention has multiplied the strength of the human arm and brought within the reach of the masses comforts which, until recently, even wealth could not buy. The word "neighborhood" no longer describes a community; that "all ye are brethren" can be more readily comprehended than ever before. It is easier for one to distribute blessings to the world today than it was a few centuries ago to be helpful to the residents of a single valley. A good example set anywhere can be seen everywhere, so intimate has become the relation between man and man.

And yet with the wonderful spread of knowledge and the marvellous range of achievement there is vast work to be done. Conscience has not kept pace with commerce, nor has moral growth increased with the growth of wealth. The extremes of society have been driven farther and farther apart, and the chord of sympathy between rich and poor is greatly strained. Destitution and squalor lurk in the shadow of palaces, and great law-breakers vie with petty thieves in ignoring the statutes of the state. The instrumentalities of government are being used for public plunder, and those who make fortunes through legislation employ a tithe of their winnings for the corruption of the sources of public opinion. Not only is a bribe dangled before the eyes of the indigent voter, but those who profit through the control of the government do not hesitate to subsidize newspapers and to scatter their hush money wherever a protest can be silenced.

The opportunity is here and the field inviting. A great orator complained a generation ago that the scholar in the republic was not doing the work for which his education fitted him. He declared that the great truths relating to society were not the result of scholarly meditation, but had been first heard in the solemn protest of martyred patriotism and the loud cries of crushed and starving labor—that the scholars, instead of making history, were content to write it "one-half truly and the other half as their prejudices blur and distort it."

Let not this reproach be truthfully uttered against the scholars of America today. With a soil capable of supporting a vast population; with a climate that gives

infinite variety and furnishes healing for every ill; with a people commingling the best blood of all the races and a government which furnishes the greatest stimulus to high endeavor—here the scholar ought to find the most powerful incentive and be inspired to the most heroic effort. Whether he turns his attention to the improvement of crops and herds, to mechanical labor, to the perfecting of methods of exchange or to the cheapening of transportation, or ministers as a physician to the ills of the body, or as an instructor to the wants of the mind, or as a religious teacher to the needs of the heart, no matter to what he devotes himself, infinite possibilities are before him. In whatever walk of life he takes his place he cannot shirk the duties of citizenship, for, living in a land where every citizen is a sovereign and where no one dares to wear a crown, he must help to make the government good or share the blame for permitting evils that might be corrected.

If we apply the term coward to one who, from fear of bodily harm, falters upon the battlefield, we must find some harsher term to apply to those who ignominously withdraw themselves from the struggle of today, in the presence of the tremendous problems which require for their wise solution all the energies of the body, all the powers of the mind and all the virtues of the heart.

Members of the graduating class: I have endeavored to impress upon your minds and hearts, first, the possibilities for good or evil of a human being, and, second, the responsibility which great opportunity imposes upon him. I have endeavored to suggest the relation which should exist between body and mind and heart. I have endeavored to emphasize the paramount importance of the moral element. Your labors are not ended, but begun. You are not going into undisturbed retirement, but into the nation's busy, throbbing life. You have been "burning the midnight oil"; henceforth you stand in the sunlight. Fear not to mingle with the poor and the unlearned; they need you most. You will find among them the homely virtues and you will find among them honest inquiry, for it was not in speaking of such that it was said: "The cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the truth."

Strive to make your lives resemble a purifying stream, remembering that the higher the reservoir from which you draw the greater will be the pressure. Let not happiness be the aim of your lives, for happiness eludes those who most eagerly pursue it, but comes unbidden into the homes of those who labor for higher ends.

Beware of selfishness, for selfishness defeats itself. "He that findeth his life shall lose it," is true in other than a religious sense, while he who surrenders himself unreservedly to some great cause gains a larger life than the one surrendered. Wendell Phillips gives fitting expression to this truth when he says, "How prudently most men sink into nameless graves, while now and then a few forget themselves into immortality."

I have endeavored to suggest an ideal which may be helpful to you when the festivities of this closing week are past and you turn to the sober work of life. No ideal is a sufficient one that will not satisfy us in our declining years as well as in the days of youth and the days of maturity. Aye, more, no ideal is all that it should be unless it is so lofty as to be visible from both sides of the river that separates the temporal life from the life that is eternal. Be not discouraged because you strive for that which cannot be wholly attained. The ideal is only ideal because it is beyond our reach, and yet it may guide us as the polar star guides the mariner upon the open sea. If perfection is not possible to us, neither is it required of us. When we have done our full duty our consciences will acquit us, and our friends will not condemn. "We work in the real, but we live in the ideal," some one has said, and yet the ideal is the most real thing that we know, as all can testify.

Ask the mother who holds in her arms her boy, what her ideal is concerning him and she will tell you that she desires that his heart may be so pure that it could be laid upon a pillow and not leave a stain; that his ambition may be so holy that it could be whispered in an angel's ear; and that his life may be so clean that his mother, his sister, his wife, his child could read a record of its every thought and act without a blush. But ask her if she will require this perfection in her son before she showers her love upon him, and she will answer "No."

She will tell you that she will make him as good as she can; that she will follow his footsteps with a daily prayer; that in whatever land he wanders her blessing will abide with him; and that when he dies she'll hope, hope, yet, hope that the world will be better that he has lived. This is all that she can do. All that any of us can do for ourselves or for others is the best that opportunity and circumstances permit.

The development of the individual is never complete. Solomon describes the path of the just as "like the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day," and Holland, putting the same into verse, says:

"Heaven is not gained by a single bound.
We build the ladder by which we rise
From the lowly earth to the vaulted skies,
And mount to its summit round by round."

So, with the work of government and the work of civilization. We find an unfinished work when we arrive; we leave the work unfinished when we are called hence. Each day marks out our duty for us, and it is for us to devote ourselves to it, whatever it may be, with high purpose and unfaltering courage. Whether we live to enjoy the fruits of our efforts or lay down the work before the victory is won, we know that every well-spoken word has its influence; that no good deed is ever lost. And we know, also, that no one can count his life on earth as spent in vain if, when he departs, it can be said: "The night is darker because his light has gone out; the world is not so warm because his heart has grown cold in death."

"STAY AT HOME TRUSTEES"

When it was suggested that Governor Deneen of Illinois or Robert T. Lincoln, become associated with the Equitable Assurance Society, the *Chicago Tribune* said that neither of these gentlemen could afford to permit the use of his name in connection with that institution. But several other distinguished gentlemen have given the use of their names; they have accepted positions offered them

on the claim that they will be able to faithfully serve thousands of men who are interested in a substantial way in Equitable affairs and who have been imposed upon by managers of that insurance society.

It is to be hoped that these gentlemen will have what they call "a free hand" in the discharge of their duties. But there is evidently abroad in the land a well defined suspicion that the men who engineered the recent change in Equitable affairs are not controlled entirely by unselfish motives. Indeed, we are told by several of the leading newspapers of the country that the change in Equitable management, which was represented to be principally along the line of reform, is nothing more nor less than the laying of the foundation for the greatest financial syndicate in the history of this country and that that will be the result if "Thomas F. Ryan and associates" are able to carry out their original plan.

The three gentlemen who have permitted the use of their names as trustees under the new regime in the Equitable, have assumed a large responsibility. Unless all indications are deceptive, they will find it necessary to devote a large share of their time to the protection not only of the interests of Equitable policyholders, but of their own good names.

The man whose standing before the public is such as to make the use of his name valuable to a great financial concern has made an enormous investment in that concern when he associates himself with it. Banks print the names of their directors and they make it a point to secure in that capacity the services of men having the confidence of the community. In all too many instances these directors do not give that strict attention to the bank's affairs which they owe to themselves. In all too many instances the management of the financial institution is left to the care of men who have little or no concern for the good reputations of their associates.

The *Saturday Evening Post* recently printed an interesting and instructive editorial referring to the popular protest against the "stay-at-home-voter" saying that an equally strong protest should be made against the "stay-at-home-director." The *Post* pointed out that the affairs of the masses having interests at stake in financial insti-

tutions were sacrificed because of the inattention of a number of good men in financial directories and because these men neglected the important duties they had assumed and permitted a few men to manage affairs for which the entire directory is in fact responsible.

It is to be hoped that the trustees chosen by the syndicate known as "Thomas F. Ryan and Associates," will not permit themselves to come under the head of the "stay at-home trustees."

The Commoner certainly wishes these trustees well in every effort they may make to protect the interests of the helpless people who have been subjected to the merciless management of the Hydes and the Alexanders. It may not be out of place, however, to remind these trustees that they will do well to carefully scrutinize every detail of the association's affairs during the day and sleep with one eye open during the night. When men lend the use of their names to an institution plainly in the control of financiers who, in popular parlance, "won't stand without hitching," they will do well to remember that eternal vigilance is the price of their good reputations.

NOT WISE TO USE NAME

Mr. Bryan has received a number of requests for permission to use his name in the formation of democratic clubs. To all who submit such requests he would say: It is better to use either the word democratic, or the name of Jefferson or Jackson. So long as a man is alive the use of his name by a political club is likely to be misunderstood. Then, too, the use of the name may prove an embarrassment to him and to the club. Mr. Bryan would prefer that his name be not so used. He expects to take an active part in politics for many years to come, and he wants to be free to say what he thinks ought to be said, and to do what he thinks ought to be done. In following his conscience and his judgment he may possibly go contrary to the opinions of those who are members of the various clubs and he would regret to hamper the club in its freedom of action. Whether Mr. Bryan is ever a candidate for any office again will depend upon circum-

stances; the question can not be decided now. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." He does not want to stand in the attitude of a candidate; and the naming of clubs after him might be represented by unfriendly critics as an attempt on the part of his friends to place him in this attitude before the country.

If the members of a club desire a name that will emphasize their determination to give effect to the will of the voters they might call the club the Primary Pledge club. Mr. Bryan appreciates the hearty response that has been made to the primary pledge appeal, and personally and through The Commoner will give every possible assistance to those who are thus organizing for an aggressive fight in 1908.

WHY NOT PAUL MORTON?

Judson Harmon of Cincinnati, who with F. N. Judson of St. Louis was retained to investigate the charge that the Santa Fe railroad had violated the anti-rebate law, announces that Mr. Judson and himself have retired from all connection with that investigation.

According to Mr. Harmon's statement, Messrs. Harmon and Judson recommended "that certain proceedings be taken." It has been widely published, and is not denied that these "certain proceedings" were the prosecution of Paul Morton for his part in the violation of the anti-rebate law. Mr. Harmon says that the attorney general disapproved the recommendations, adding "as he had a perfect right to do." It seems, however, that Messrs. Judson and Harmon were so convinced of the correctness of their recommendations that they thought their duty required them to adhere to their views and they so notified the attorney general, and, as Mr. Harmon says, "retired from further connection with the matter."

Of course the attorney general had a perfect right to disapprove the recommendations, but a great many people will be curious to know what rule exempts a conspicuous personage like Paul Morton from prosecution for the plainly admitted violation of law.

When a man of influence violates a law, there is no place for a "weakling" in the office charged with the duty of enforcing the law. The people are not given "a square deal" when a man is permitted to escape punishment for his misdeeds simply because he happens to occupy a conspicuous position in the councils of the political organization immediately in control of public affairs.

If there is any good reason why the law should not take its course in the case of Paul Morton, Mr. Roosevelt should make that reason known to the public. As Mr. Harmon says, "there should be no mystery about what has become of the matter." The people want to know the truth and the whole truth. They have a right to know whether the refusal to prosecute Paul Morton for his confessed violation of law squares with Mr. Roosevelt's proclamations from the stump.

THE PRESIDENT BLUNDERS

To say that the president has blundered in the Santa Fe case is to express but mildly what might with propriety be expressed more harshly. The eminent attorneys selected by the administration to investigate the case, Messrs. Harmon and Judson, reported in favor of bringing contempt proceedings against the officials of the Santa Fe railroad for violating an injunction. Secretary Morton as one of the officials of the Santa Fe was included among the officers to be prosecuted. Attorney General Moody, with President Roosevelt's approval, refused to follow the recommendation of Messrs. Harmon and Judson. To justify the failure to prosecute the Santa Fe officials the president takes a position which, if adhered to, will very much embarrass the prosecution of railroads and trust officials. First, he distinguishes between a corporation and its officers and insists that it is not only necessary to show the corporation has violated the law but that the responsible officials of the corporation must be shown to be guilty. The government's special attorneys pointed out that the evidence was in the keeping of the company and could be

brought out best on trial, but the president replies that the guilt must be filed in advance on some particular officer. And then he proceeds to say that in the case of the anti-trust law he has not attempted to punish the heads of the corporations violating the law, but has simply endeavored to stop the violations. He cites the merger case and the beef trust case to show that he did not prosecute officials. Yes, and he has been subjected to just criticism for his failure to enforce the criminal law in this case. Justice Holmes in his dissenting opinion in the merger cases pointed that the officials should be prosecuted criminally if the merger was unlawful. The president does not hesitate to punish petty criminals; why should he be so tender with large ones? When a man sells a gallon of whisky without license the president does not enjoin him from doing so any more, he prosecutes him and makes him feel the penalty of the law; why does he hesitate to prosecute the big men who trample upon the statutes and the orders of the courts? The president has used a good deal of high sounding language about the enforcement of the law, and no one doubts that he means it when he applies the language to small offenders, but does he mean it when the offenders are prominent and when millions instead of hundreds are involved? He seems inclined to so amend the commandment as to make it read: "Thou shalt not steal"—on a small scale.

The president errs when he justifies a refusal to prosecute the Santa Fe officials because other corporate officials have escaped punishment. He cites the case of the Harvester trust, but why has he not prosecuted that trust if it is guilty? If it is not guilty, then the illustration loses its force; if it is guilty it ought to be punished. It is absurd to first overlook its violations and then use the immunity granted to it as a reason for granting immunity to the Santa Fe. But the president, apparently conscious that his excuses are weak, piles one upon another in a vain effort to fortify his position. He not only lays down a dangerous principle when he says that after proving the corporation guilty the government must not prosecute until it shows guilty knowledge in the officers in charge; and he not only submits a palpably absurd defense when he pleads failure to prosecute one corporation

to justify a failure to prosecute another, but he singles Secretary Morton out for eulogy and declares that if he was going to prosecute corporate officials he would not begin with him. The president's statement bears evidence of being prepared for the sole purpose of shielding a friend.

Many well-wishers of the president have felt that Mr. Morton's appointment was a mistake and that his presence in the cabinet was a bar to any effective punishment of railroad officials, but the full extent of Mr. Morton's evil influence was not understood until the president's letter appeared. It seems now that leniency must be shown all corporate officials in order to prevent the establishment of a principle which, if enforced, would bring punishment upon the secretary of the navy. It would have been better for the country if the president had announced his determination to shield his friend, because a friend, than to paralyze the enforcement of the criminal law in order to save a congenial spirit from fine or imprisonment. Mr. Morton assures the president that he is not guilty, but it is no reflection on Mr. Morton's veracity to say that the penitentiaries are full of men who have made that same plea in open courts. It is not a question of opinion, but a question of proof, and the president is prosecutor, not judge.

If Mr. Morton is not guilty, a vindication in court would be worth much more to him than a vindication from the president, and such a vindication would leave the criminal law still in force. The president has blundered and it is impossible to calculate with any accuracy the far reaching influence of the blunder.

PUNISHING THE WRONG MAN

The president, after investigating the Bowen-Loomis controversy, dismisses Mr. Bowen with a savage reprimand and promotes Mr. Loomis. This is a strange precedent to establish. Secretary Taft admits that Mr. Loomis was "indiscreet." He even expresses regret that the "great satisfaction" which the administration finds

in his "complete exculpation from all charges of dishonesty" is offset by the fact that he has failed "to hold himself utterly aloof from any personal participation in plans for investments and exploitation of the countries to which he was accredited and from allowing himself to take personal interest in transactions in which he or his legation might also have to act in a trust capacity."

Secretary Taft regards it as merely an indiscretion for Mr. Loomis to be personally interested in the Mercado claims, but admits that Mr. Loomis was "certainly treading on dangerous ground in bringing his official life so close to a transaction in which he must have expected to have a large personal interest."

After admitting enough to justify Mr. Loomis' removal from the service the secretary rejoices in his "exculpation" and scores Mr. Bowen for making the matter public. A calm and disinterested perusal of the records in the case will lead most people to believe that the administration has punished the wrong man. Mr. Bowen is not accused of "treading on dangerous ground" or of "personally interesting himself" in the exploitation of Venezuela, and yet he is discharged in disgrace, while the exploiter is exculpated and promoted.

The position of ambassador or minister requires a high code of honor. To become personally interested in the exploitation of the country to which he is accredited is the gravest offense of which a diplomatic representative can be guilty. If an American representative at any European court of the first grade should buy a claim against the country to which he was accredited, his recall would be demanded and no one would question the propriety of the demand; why should we not require as scrupulous integrity on the part of our representatives in the smaller capitals? If there is any difference we should enforce a higher standard when our officials deal with the smaller countries, because the temptations are greater.

The president and Secretary Taft will not raise the United States in the esteem of the South American republics by their promotion of a diplomat who so clearly violated the well settled rules governing his position.

TAFT ON CHINESE IMMIGRATION

Secretary Taft has recently delivered an important opinion on the question of immigration. He says:

> "Is it just that for the purpose of excluding or preventing perhaps 100 Chinese coolies from slipping into this country against the law we should subject an equal number of Chinese merchants and students of a high character to an examination of such an inquisitorial, humiliating, insulting and physically uncomfortable character as to discourage altogether the coming of merchants and students?
>
> "One of the great commercial prizes of the world is the trade with the 400,000,000 Chinese. Ought we to throw away the advantage which we have by reason of Chinese natural friendship for us, and continue to enforce an unjustly severe law, and thus create in the Chinese mind a disposition to boycott the American trade and to drive our merchants from Chinese shores simply because we are afraid that we may for the time lose the approval of certain unreasonable and extreme popular leaders of California and other coast states?
>
> "Does the question not answer itself? Is it not the duty of members of congress and of the executive to disregard the unreasonable demands of a part of the community deeply prejudiced upon this subject in the far west, and insist on extending justice and courtesy to a people from whom we are deriving and are likely to derive such immense benefit in the way of international trade?"

It will be seen that "the 400,000,000 commercial prize" is the thing that fills the secretary's eyes, and anything is regarded as unreasonable that stands in the way. He underestimates the number of Chinese who would come in as laborers and denounces as unreasonable the demands made by the laboring men of the country that they be protected from a horde of Chinese coolies who are not assimilated or brought to the American level of living, but simply displace American workmen. It is

fortunate for the country that thus early in his presidential campaign Secretary Taft so clearly aligns himself with the capitalistic side. For forty years the manufacturers have taxed the whole country for the ostensible purpose of giving good wages to labor; but now when they begin to reach out for the markets of the world they are willing to sacrifice the wage earner to commercial advantages. They insist that the goods made by coolies shall be shut out, but they are willing that the coolies themselves shall come in. If the Chinese will come with a love for our institutions and for the purpose of identifying themselves with our future it would be a different question, but they preserve their Orientalism and form a permanently distinct class among us. Their presence is sure to breed race troubles that will be more hurtful to trade than any exclusion act can be.

Many of the republican leaders will be in sympathy with the policy that will flood the country with cheap Chinese labor, and an imperial policy tends to give encouragement to the cheap labor proposition.

The Chinese question is one that affects the entire country, not the Pacific coast alone or the laboring men alone. It is true that the Pacific coast would feel the evil effects of Chinese immigration first, and it is also true that the laboring men would come into immediate contact with oriental labor, but in its ultimate influence the subject touches all parts of the country and reaches all classes. The question is whether we are going to build up a strong, independent, upright and patriotic people and develop a civilization that will exert a helpful influence on all the world, or whether we are going to be a greedy, grasping nation, forgetful of high ideals and concerned only in the making of money.

Chinese immigration is defended by two classes of people. First, by those, comparatively few in number, who believe that universal brotherhood requires us to welcome to our shores all people of all lands. This is the sentimental argument advanced in favor of Chinese immigration. There is no more reason why we should construe brotherhood to require the admission of all people to our country than there is that we should construe brotherhood to require the dissolution of family

ties. The family is a unit; it is the place where character and virtue and usefulness are developed, and from the family a good or evil influence emanates. It is not necessary nor even wise that the family environment should be broken up or that all who desire entrance should be admitted to the family circle. In a larger sense a nation is a family. It is the center for the cultivation of national character, national virtue and national usefulness. A nation is under no obligation to the outside world to admit anybody or anything that would injuriously affect the national family; in fact it is under obligation to itself not to do so. The influence of the United States will be much more potent for good if we remain a homogeneous nation with all citizens in full sympathy with all other citizens. No distinct race like the Chinese can come into this country without exciting a friction and a race prejudice which will make it more difficult for us to exercise a wholesome influence upon the Chinese in China, not to speak of our influence on other nations.

The second, and by far the larger class, embraces those who advocate Chinese immigration on the ground that it will furnish cheap labor for household and factory work. There is no force in the argument that is made by some that it is difficult to secure girls to do housework. If domestic service is not popular as compared with other work, it is because the pay is not sufficient to make it attractive and the remedy lies in better wages. Labor can be secured for any and every honorable position when the price is sufficient to attract it, and the demand for Chinese servants comes with poor grace from those who often spend on a single social entertainment as much as a servant's wages would amount to in an entire year. At this time when skilled and intelligent American labor is able to compete in foreign markets with the cheapest labor in the world, it is absurd to talk about the necessity for cheap factory hands.

Secretary Taft's interview is significant as showing that his sympathies are with the manufacturers rather than with the masses.

HOW WILL HE MAKE THE PROFIT?

Mr. Ryan announces that he paid two and a half millions for a controlling interest in the stock of the Equitable Assurance Company. As the interest allowed on the stock would be an insignificant income on the amount paid for the stock the inquiry arises, how does Mr. Ryan expect to get his money back? The only reasonable explanation is that he expects to make a profit out of the use of the assets of the company. But as these are trust funds he can not make a profit out of their use without trespassing upon the rights of the policyholders.

What will it profit the policyholders to escape the follies of young Hyde if they fall into the clutches of one of the shrewdest financiers Wall street has developed? Mr. Ryan is likely to slay his tens of thousands where Mr. Hyde slew his thousands.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT PROMISED

The press dispatches report that the czar met the representatives of the zemstvos at the royal palace, received the radical petition presented and renewed his promise of an assembly. He is quoted as saying: "I thank you, gentlemen, for the sentiments expressed and I join in your desire to bring about a new order of things. My personal wish and my will as emperor to summon a national assembly is unshakable and I await with anxiety the carrying out of this my will. You can announce this to the towns and villages throughout Russia and from today you will assist me in this new work." He then shook hands with the representatives, greeting cordially even those who have been most insistent upon governmental reforms. This is a great victory for the doctrine of self-government and the czar will soon find that he has gained influence rather than lost it by making the people copartners in the work of government. The people will endure things for which they are themselves responsible and will patiently await remedies which they themselves can apply. Now if the czar will give them free spirit and a free press he will convert a heretofore sullen

constituency into enthusiastic supporters. The public official who aries to suppress criticism not only intensifies the criticism but denies himself the advantage of suggestions from the opposition. The more centralized the government the more do those in authority need the frank and candid criticism of political adversaries.

AND NOW THE INCOME TAX

In the invitation for proposals for bids for the construction of railroads in the Philippines, which invitation was made public by Secretary of War Taft June 11, it is provided that in place of all taxes the railways must pay annually for thirty years to the Philippine government one-half of one per cent of their gross earnings; for fifty years after the expiration of the thirty year period the annual amount to be paid in place of taxes shall be one and one-half per cent upon the gross earnings. After that time the amount to be paid shall be fixed by the Philippine government.

Do our eyes deceive us or is this really a formal endorsement by the republican administration of the principles of the income tax?

The republican administration has given its endorsement to the democratic plan of giving the interstate commerce commission power to fix railroad rates. It has given its endorsement to the democratic demand that the criminal clause of the Sherman anti-trust law be enforced. It has given its endorsement to the democratic plan of requiring federal license before a corporation may do business outside of the state of its origin. It has given an emphatic denial to the republican claim that protection is a highly patriotic and moral rule; it has given an emphatic endorsement of the democratic claim that "protection is a robbery of the many to enrich the few"; it has admitted that the tariff should not be employed by the American manufacturer as a means for imposing extortionate prices upon the American consumer. And now in the Philippine islands the republican administration has given endorsement to the principle of the income tax.

To a great many people the question will occur: If the principle of the income tax is good as applied to the Philippines, why is it not good as applied to our own land? And if it is proper for the government to go to the markets where it can buy cheapest its supplies for the Panama canal in order to escape extortionate prices, with what reason will the individual consumer who supports the government be denied the benefit of that same common sense remedy?

THE REAL DEFENDERS OF PROPERTY

(Written for the *Saturday Evening Post* by W. J. Bryan and reproduced by courtesy of that journal.)

Whenever any vested wrong is to be righted or any long standing abuse to be corrected, those who profit by the wrong or the abuse are prompt to pose as the defenders of property and to charge the reformers with attacking property rights. This is the historic attitude of those who oppose remedial legislation. The insincerity of the position taken is usually shown by the arguments employed by these self-styled champions of property, and one of the best illustrations of these arguments is to be found in the story of Demetrius, the silversmith. It reads as follows:

> "And the same time there arose no small stir about that way. For a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, which made silver shrines for Diana, brought no small gain unto the craftsmen; whom he called together with the workmen of like occupation, and said, 'Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth. Moreover, ye see and hear that not alone at Ephesus but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods which are made with hands. So that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at naught; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised and her magnificence should be destroyed,

whom all Asia and the world worshipeth.' And when they heard these sayings, they were full of wrath saying, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians.' ''

The silversmith was profiting by the worship of idols; the making of images was the source of his income. He called together those who were engaged in the same occupation and when all were convinced that Paul's preaching would bring them financial injury they joined in a protest, but they did not give their real reason for opposing Christianity—namely, that it would cause them a money loss, but they pretended a fervent devotion to the goddess Diana. So, today, the beneficiaries of bad laws and bad governmental systems are defending their pecuniary interests with arguments that imply great devotion to the public welfare. Having satisfied themselves that the reforms demanded by the people will lessen their power to extort from, and to tyrannize over, the people, these monopolists and their defenders shout "Great is property! Great are the rights of property!" While the issue between the man and the dollar seems to be an acute one, yet in the last analysis there can be no issue between human rights and property rights, for nothing more surely undermines property rights than a disregard for human rights, and nothing brings greater security to property than a scrupulous regard for the natural rights of each human being. But we must always remember that human rights are paramount. In fact, everything depends upon the establishment of the true relation between the individual and dull, inanimate property.

The house and its foundation are indissolubly connected, and we can not think of one without the other. So, human rights and property rights are indissolubly connected. We can not think of the one without the other and as, in the building of the house, we must think of the foundation first and of the house as a superstructure, so in thinking of society we must necessarily think of human rights first and of property rights as resting upon human rights. He who talks of property rights as if they could exist without a regard for human rights, speaks as foolishly as one who would attempt to build a house with-

out considering the foundation upon which it is to stand. Lincoln discussed this subject in his own inimitable way. In 1859, in responding to an invitation to attend a birthday dinner given by Boston republicans in honor of Thomas Jefferson, Lincoln said that the republican party believed in the man and the dollar, but that in case of conflict he believed in the man before the dollar. Again in his message to congress in 1861 Lincoln said:

> "It is not needed or fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions, but there is one point with its connection not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor in the structure of government; it is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital somehow, by the use of capital, induces him to labor.
>
> "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration."

It will be seen that Lincoln believed labor to be prior to and independent of capital, and that he regarded capital as only the fruit of labor. He expressly declared labor to be not only superior to capital, but deserving of much the higher consideration. If labor is superior to capital and deserving of much higher consideration, is not the human being who stands back of labor more important than either capital or labor? And are not the rights of human beings more important than any rights which attach to property, if, indeed, the word "right" can properly be used to describe a quality or characteristic of property?

The question that we have to meet is not really a question between the individual and property, but rather a question between those who own a great deal of property and those who own but little, or it might better be stated as an issue between those who are seeking to secure

property without giving to society an equivalent, and those who ask nothing more than to secure so much property as will reward them for the contribution which they make to the welfare of society.

Property, for the purpose of this article, will be defined as anything (a human being excepted) that can be made the subject of ownership, and it will be assumed as a fundamental proposition that no man can justly lay claim to property except on the ground that he has given to society a benefit equal in value to the property to which he lays claim. If, for instance, an employe of the government receives a certain compensation from the government which acts for all the people, it is upon the theory that he gives to the government a service equivalent in value to the compensation received. If the compensation paid by the government is more liberal than compensation paid by private individuals for similar service, it is on the theory that the government should be in a position not only to command at all times the service needed for the carrying on of the work of the government, but to command the best service.

The pension system is also based upon the theory that the government is paying for service rendered, and at the same time insuring a future service in case it needs to call upon its citizens to risk their lives in its behalf.

The patent system rests upon the same law of rewards. If a person gives a new idea to the public or makes a new use of one of the forces of nature, society rewards him for the service rendered by giving him a temporary monopoly of the use of the idea. Thus the government in all of its operations acts upon the law of equivalents, proportioning the compensation, as nearly as possible, to the service rendered. If the law governing inheritances seems to be an exception, it must be regarded as an apparent rather than a real exception. In the first place, the right to give away one's property is really a part of the right to use it. The right of a man to share his food with one whom he loves is as sacred as his right to eat it himself, and the right of a man to share his property with others, providing he has acquired it justly, is as sacred as his right to use it himself. If, for instance, a man by rendering an equivalent service secures an in-

defeasible title to a horse, his right to give that horse to another is as important a right as his right to use it himself. In so far as a parent's gifts to a child are in the preparation of the child for service, the parent is discharging an obligation incurred by him when he brought the child into the world, and in so far as the parent's gifts go beyond that, they may be considered as a payment for service rendered or payment in advance for service that the child is expected to render to the parent when the parent becomes infirm. So, gifts between friends are as a rule made in payment for service rendered or in anticipation of services to be rendered either to the giver or to others.

It is safe to say that no contest over property rights is likely to arise between those who feel that they are giving to society a service commensurate with the compensation which they are receiving. The controversy arises now and has always arisen between those who are conscious of enjoying what they have not earned or conscious of desiring to secure that to which they are not entitled, and the masses of the people who feel that they not only earn all that they receive, but something more. Those who are insisting upon legislation which will protect each citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are the real champions of property rights as well as the champions of human rights, and those who talk so loudly of defending property rights are, upon investigation, found to be the ones who are endangering property rights as well as assailing the natural rights of the individual.

A few concrete cases will illustrate this proposition. Frequent efforts have been made to prohibit speculation in grain and in stocks, but those who attempted to secure such legislation are denounced as the enemies of property. Are they not the friends of property? What right has any man to enrich himself by disturbing the price of another man's property? The farmer raises grain for sale; he prepares the ground, sows the seed, tends the crop, separates the grain from the stalk or the husk, conveys it to the market and delivers it to the local miller or to a railroad for transportation to the miller at a distance. The miller grinds the grain into flour or

meal and delivers it to the baker or to the kitchen to be in turn converted into food. The farmer has a right to a compensation fixed by the law of supply and demand, for he not only bases his effort upon this, but he finds a protection in the free operation of this law. If the price is below the average, the low price, when the law of supply and demand operates freely, is caused by an increased supply, and this increased supply at the lower price yields him an average return. If the increased yield is in some other section, so that he does not receive the benefit of it in any particular year, he knows that his turn will come.

But when the market speculator appears upon the scene he enriches himself by overthrowing the law of supply and demand and by substituting the law of corner and monopoly. He does not add a single bushel to the grain in existence; he does not facilitate its conveyance from purchaser to consumer; he does not turn a wheel; he does not serve a single useful purpose. He simply feasts upon those whom he victimizes, and like the horse leech his cry is always "Give! Give!"

The same may be said of the business of dealing in stocks and bonds. There is a legitimate trade in these securities between those who desire to invest and those who desire to convert their investments into money, but the stock speculator disturbs the stock market as the grain speculator disturbs the grain market. He destroys all calculations based upon security, upon income and upon the value of money, and plunges stocks up or plunges them down for his own profit and to the great injury of those who enter the market for honest purposes.

It is not necessary to add that grain gambling and stock gambling lead to embezzlements and business failures whereby many lose; it is not necessary to enumerate other demoralizing effects of market speculation. It is not necessary to call attention to the fact that in most cases ruin finally comes upon the speculator as well as upon those whom he dupes and deceives. It is sufficient to say that the men who engage in such speculation not only make no contribution to the welfare of society but constantly sacrifice the interests of innocent people to their own greed. Those who seek by legislation to put

the board of trade and the stock exchange upon an honest basis and to make them contribute to the security of business and to the welfare of the country are the friends of property, not the enemies of property. Such legislation would be beneficial to the farmers who produce, to the consumers for whom the farmer produces and to the middlemen, and hurtful only to those whom selfishness has made blind to the rights of others as well as their own highest good.

Those who demand the divorcement of the treasury department from Wall street are not the enemies of private property; they simply insist that public property should not be taken for private purposes, and that the functions of government should not become an asset in private business. It ought not to be considered heresy to say that the government should be administered by the people in their own behalf. It ought not to subject one to criticism to declare that the financial system of the government should be made to subserve the interests of the whole people and not be used to advance the interests of a few. Legislation can produce a drouth of money as surely as the sun, when rain is withheld, can produce a drouth in the fields, and scarcity of money is as sure to increase the purchasing power of the dollar as scarcity of a cereal is sure to raise the price per bushel. Those who insist that the dollar should be made as stable as possible in its purchasing power are not the enemies of property; they simply protest against allowing the standard of value to be juggled with in the interest of the money changer and the holder of fixed investments.

Those who desire to have the taxes limited to the needs of the government and, when collected, kept in the treasury, are not guilty of doing injustice to the banks. They are simply advocating a system which denies to the banks a valuable and unearned privilege which, when bestowed, arrays the banks against the rest of the people, for if the banks can make a profit out of the government deposits they are pecuniarily interested in keeping the surplus large while the rest of the people are interested in keeping the surplus small.

In a like manner it can be shown that those who oppose banks of issue are not open to the criticism that they

are attacking property interests, for there is no more reason why a bank should draw interest upon bonds and at the same time have the use of the face value of the bonds in bank notes, than that any other bondholder should keep his money and at the same time draw interest upon it as if loaned to the government, and there is no good reason why this particular form of security should be singled out and made profitable to the holder, while other forms of security, equally good, are discriminated against.

We are told that when the brothers of Joseph found that the father had given him a coat of many colors, as a token of his partiality, they hated Joseph. In so far as hostility has been manifested toward bankers as a class, it is accounted for by the fact that they have been wearing the coat of many colors and enjoying privileges and favors denied to the rest of the people.

The defenders of imperialism or colonialism have posed as the special champions of commercial interests and of property rights, and so distinguished a representative of the imperialists as Senator Lodge has advocated the holding of the Philippines on the ground that our nation must look after its pecuniary interests. No one who will investigate the subject will doubt that the persons benefited by imperialism are small in number compared with the persons whose property interests are injured by imperialism. Thousands pay taxes to hold the Filipinos in subjection where one person draws a dollar's worth of profit out of our occupation of the islands. The profit realized from trade with the Filipinos amounts to but a small per cent upon the money that we are expending there, and all the people spend the money while but a handful reap the benefits. The American does not expect to go to the Philippine islands to live. If all of the Filipinos were killed off, the country would not be colonized by Americans as North America was colonized by Europe. Ahab had a far better excuse for wanting the land of Naboth than we have for wanting the Philippine islands. Naboth's land joined the land of Ahab and the taking of it enlarged the land that he cultivated, and yet the Bible tells us that Naboth's right to hold the land was vindicated. Who will vindicate our right to con-

quer the Filipinos in order to hold land that must be worked through overseers and protected by an alien government and an army? The right of the Filipino to hold his property rests upon the same basis that our right to hold property does, and we can not ignore his property rights without endangering our own.

Every attempt to legislate in the interests of the laboring men is met with the declaration that it is an interference with the rights of property. How would property be created but for labor? And who will say that the man who furnishes the capital should be permitted to decide without appeal the conditions upon which property shall be created by those who labor for him? We often hear it asked by the manufacturer: "Have I not the right to manage my own business?" That is not the question. If the manufacturer will set himself to work to produce something with his own hands, nobody will question his right to control his own business. But something more is implied by his question. If he would put the question fairly he would ask, not "Have I not the right to manage my own business?" but rather "Have I not the right, in managing my business, to regulate the lives, the liberty, the hopes, the happiness of those whom I employ?" But to ask the question in this form would be to suggest a negative answer, while he demands an affirmative answer.

Those who claim the right to arbitrarily determine the hours, the wages and the conditions of labor demand the right to arbitrarily determine the status of the laboring man and to fix the conditions that are to surround him and his posterity. Is it an interference with property rights to demand that the laboring man shall have a fair share of the proceeds of his own toil—a fair share of the property which he creates? His right to accumulate property should not be ignored. Not only should he be allowed to accumulate property, but he should have leisure to enable him to enjoy communion with his own family and to fit himself for intelligent participation in the affairs of his government. By what authority will the capitalist put his claim to larger dividends above the rights of the wage earners, and the welfare of the wage earner's children?

Just now the trust magnates are hurling epithets at those who seek to destroy the trusts. They assume to be the special custodians of property rights, and charge anti-monopolists with communistic, socialist and anarchistic designs upon "the thrifty and successful." As a matter of fact the reformer has never been more grossly misrepresented than he is now by the monopolists. It is the trust magnate, not the opponents of the trust, who is striking at property rights. He trespasses upon the property rights of the small manufacturer and the retailer, and heartlessly drives him into bankruptcy. He trespasses upon the property rights of the consumers, who have a right to purchase what they need in a free market at a reasonable price. The monopolist simply appropriates the property of others. The trust magnate often trespasses the property rights of the employe, whose skill and muscle he utilizes. He encourages the employe to invest in a home and then he sacrifices that home if he engages in a war with his laborers or finds it profitable to dismantle his plant. Even the property interests of the stockholders are not safe in the hands of the trust magnate, for he has been known to depress the market for the purpose of freezing out his associates or in order to buy more stock at a low price. Those who, believing that "a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable," are laboring to restore competition and to protect the small producer, the consumer, the merchant and the skilled laborer—these, not the trust magnates, are the real defenders of property rights.

The railroad presidents are also very much concerned now lest their particular form of property will be injured by legislation, and they are quick to describe as demagogic all arguments that are intended to inform the public intelligence and to arouse the public conscience on the railroad question. What is the position taken by the railroad presidents? They deny the right of the public, acting through government officials, to fix rates, or they deny that these officials are competent to fix rates. As to the right there can be no question. The rates charged by a railroad to a large extent determine the value of the land contiguous to the railroad. When a railroad manager materially increases the rate

on an important article of commerce he increases the revenues of the road, and an increased revenue increases the price of the stock. He therefore has it in his power to increase the value of the railroad property, but when he increases the railroad property by increasing the transportation rate, he lessens the returns of the farmer and, in so doing, lessens the value of the farm, which necessarily depends upon the value of the product.

Can any one seriously question the right of the patrons of the railroads to protect their own property? Or is railroad property the only property to be considered? Because comparatively few persons enjoy the benefits of an increase in the value of railroad stock while the evil effect of exorbitant rates is distributed over a large territory, many seem to think only of the beneficiaries. But in the discussion of property rights we are not at liberty to ignore a small loss brought to each of a large number of people and think only of the considerable gain secured by a few.

Neither do the railroad presidents take a tenable position when they insist that only railroad officials are competent to fix rates. If they would but apply to this question the rule which they apply to other questions, they would know that the railroad managers, instead of being especially fitted to arbitrarily fix rates, are in reality specially unfitted for the work. The bias caused by pecuniary interest is everywhere recognized. A judge is not permitted to sit in his own case, and a juror is excused if he has the slightest pecuniary interest in the result of the trial. And yet railroad managers impudently assert that those who have the largest pecuniary interest in the fixing of the rates are just the ones to be trusted with this important task.

If competition was free to work in the fixing of railroad rates, the patrons of the road could protect themselves, but there is no competition at all between intermediate points, and the rates are often fixed by agreement at competing points. It is as absurd to say that the patrons should depend upon the railroad managers for justice in rates as it would be to say that a plaintiff should submit his case to a jury made up of defendants in the case.

And so, no matter what question is under consideration, the reformer is always misrepresented by those who find a profit in the existing conditions.

Not only is the reformer the real defender of property rights, but he is the best friend of the very persons who abuse him. Just as the physician is the best one who points out to his patient the dangers of the disease from which he suffers and proposes the best remedy, no matter how severe, so those are the best friends of the rich who attempt to restain excesses and to correct abuses.

Jefferson in his first inaugural address describes the right of election by the people as "a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped off by the sword of revolution where peaceful remedies are unprovided." The reformer seeks by peaceful means to correct abuses which, if not reformed by legislation, are sure sooner or later to lead, first, to bitterness between the classes and finally to violence. Dickens in his "Tale of Two Cities" gives his readers a picture of the French revolution and points out that the horrors of the revolution were but the natural result of the cruelties which the masses previously suffered at the hands of the aristocracy. This in his language:

> "Along the Paris streets, the death carts rumble, hollow and harsh. Six tumbrils carry the day's wine to La Guillotine. All the devouring and insatiate monsters imagined since imagination could record itself, are fused in the one realization, Guillotine. And yet there is not in France, with its rich variety of soil and climate, a blade, a leaf, a root, a sprig, a peppercorn which will grow to maturity under conditions more certain than those that have produced this horror. Crush humanity out of shape once more, under similar hammers, and it will twist itself into the same tortured forms. Sow the same seed of rapacious license and oppression over again, and it will surely yield the same fruit according to its kind.
>
> "Six tumbrils roll along the streets. Change these back again to what they were, thou powerful enchanter, Time, and they shall be seen to be the

carriages of absolute monarchs, the equipages of feudal nobles, the toilettes of flaring Jezebels, the churches that are not my Father's house but dens of thieves, the huts of millions of starving peasants."

The French aristocrats who showed their contempt for human rights were very solicitous about property rights, and yet they were in fact the deadliest enemies of property and property rights, because their wantonness provoked the attacks which followed.

The situation in this country today is not what it was in France prior to the revolution. The extremes of society are not so far apart nor have the evils now complained of been carried so far. And yet no one who has studied the situation can be blind to the fact that the arrogance of our financiers, and greed of our railroad magnates and the avarice of our monopolists are creating a gulf between productive wealth and predatory wealth—between the very poor and the very rich. The longer remedial legislation is delayed the wider the gulf grows, and the wider the gulf, the greater the danger. The longer a needed reform is delayed the more radical the remedy is likely to be and the more danger that the spirit of retaliation will make itself manifest.

It is time to call a halt. It is time to displace the corporate influences that now have such a powerful hold upon politics, and to return to a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," in which the property of the poor as well as the property of the rich, the life of the obscure as well as the life of the conspicuous, and the liberty of all shall be protected by law. They are the best friends of both human and property rights who labor most earnestly and most intelligently to correct injustice in government wherever found; they are the most dangerous enemies of property rights as well as of human rights who either turn the instrumentalities of government to private gain or who, for pecuniary advantage, resist needed remedial legislation.

A DESERVED REBUKE

The rebuke administered to Chief Engineer Wallace by Secretary Taft was fully deserved. Mr. Wallace applied for the position; he was then earning $15,000 a year and asked that his salary be fixed at $25,000 in view of the fact that he had to reside on the isthmus. The government complied with his request and he went to work. But before he had time to more than acquaint himself with his duties he received an offer from a New York corporation accompanied by an advance in salary. Without stopping to consider his obligation to the government or the embarrassment which his resignation would cause, he immediately obtained permission to return to New York on "important personal business." When he arrived he laid the matter before Secretary Taft and stated that he felt that his own financial interest demanded that he resign. Secretary Taft was so indignant at the purely mercenary view that Wallace took of the subject that he demanded his immediate resignation.

The secretary was right. A public official who at a critical time withdraws from a public work merely because he can make more money elsewhere is not fit to be an official. Mr. Wallace may accumulate more wealth in his new position (although he was drawing from the government half as large a salary as the president, and three times as much as members of the cabinet) but he will never wipe out the stain that his greed has put upon his good name. Even if he had no sense of honor, one might expect him to show some gratitude for the raise from $15,000 to $25,000, but he seems to have thought of nothing but money. Good riddance, and may the administration find a man instead of a gold worshipper to take his place.

And, speaking of resignations, why could not the transcontinental roads postpone indefinitely the building of the canal by bribing the canal officials with higher salaries? It was the railroad influence, led by Senator Hanna, that substituted the Panama route for the Nicaragua route and it was suspected at the time that the chief reason was that the voyage from New York to San Francisco was 1,200 miles longer by way of Panama.

Now, if these same influences can take away the experts employed to conduct the work they can keep up transcontinental rates. It would be well for the president to examine into the antecedents and corporate connections of those who apply for responsible positions in the construction department of the canal enterprise.

ETHICS IN HIGH FINANCE

The investigations and exposures of the last few years have enabled the public to take a measure of the ethics of high finance. In 1896 it was assumed by the "sound money" advocates that a great financier was the very embodyment of patriotism, honor and business integrity, but this idol has been widely shattered. First came the shipbuilding trust investigation. That showed that a number of money magnates formed a conspiracy to deceive the public and that a few of the conspirators formed an inner circle conspiracy to take advantage of the rest of the conspirators. Then came the Munroe & Munroe investigation. That showed that the second vice-president of the largest bank in the United States was in a syndicate formed to fleece the public through "wash sales." Then Lawson came forward with his story implicating the president of the largest bank and leading spirit of the Standard Oil trust in a gigantic fraud. Following this the Equitable squabble brings to light a riot of criminal misuse of trust funds which has startled the country. And during this period of investigation Miss Tarbell has given us a history of the lawlessness of the oil trust, Mr. Russell has shown up the methods of the beef trust, and the interstate commerce commission has revealed the rebate practices of the railroads. Here we have bankers, railroad magnates, promoters, manufacturers and speculators all vieing with each other in the use of methods which offend against both statute and moral law. What shall we say of the business ethics of these men who are actually engaged in exploitation or who lend their names to exploiters and draw salaries for doing nothing? When one is condemned his defense is that "others do the same"—a defense offered by the president for not pun-

ishing one of his cabinet. Larceny is a comprehensive term and it applies as much to the respectable thief who steals a large amount by indirection as it does to a professional pickpocket who pilfers on a small scale.

Of all the rascality recently exposed nothing surpasses the conscienceless transactions of those who were in charge of the Equitable. Scarcely a day passes but what some new form of embezzlement is announced. One day we learn that a coterie of directors made thousands of dollars by selling bonds to the company—sold to themselves. This was in violation of the law, and they are now returning the money. The next day we learn of pensions and salaries that represented no service. Then we find that the officials raised their own salaries to enormous figures and taxed their personal expenses to the company. What is this but larceny? And now Mr. Morton announces a reform, and what is it? That directors will no longer be paid $25 per day when they do not attend. It seems that the dummy directors who did nothing when present but approve of reports which they did not examine were drawing $25 a day whether present or not. What shall we say of a lot of eminent business men who thus enrich themselves out of trust funds, supposed to be held sacred for widows and children?

The thimbleriggers at a street fair are engaged in more honorable business for they cheat those who are foolish enough to risk their money on a game known to be dishonest, but these thimbleriggers of high finance rob the helpless and the dependents under the guise of doing an honest business. The directors who knew what was going on shared in the crimes committed against policyholders —the directors who did not know what was going on were scarcely less criminal because they were sleeping sentinels whose watchful eyes would have saved the policyholders.

It is time to establish a higher ethical standard among our financiers.

A GOOD JOKE ON THE PRESIDENT OF YALE

The *Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican* calls attention to the suggestion made by President Hadley of Yale a few years ago to the effect that trust magnates should be pun-

ished by ostracism from society and, referring to his recent announcement of a million dollar donation from Rockefeller, asks whether the chief of the trust magnates has played a joke on Yale's president.

While no one ever regarded the ostracism plan a sufficient one it is rather amusing to see the author of the suggestion paying homage to the most odious of all the trust magnates. It is safe to say that with one million of the tainted dollars in the college treasury President Hadley will never again advise turning the cold shoulder to any one who has money, no matter how he got it.

But while we smile at the fun Mr. Rockefeller is having with Yale's president we must not forget the temptation to which the college presidents and trustees are subjected. These men are entrusted with the care of institutions of learning and they find it difficult to secure endowments. To make the colleges self-supporting they would have to raise the tuition and that would lessen the attendance and when the men of moderate means ignore the appeal for aid it taxes their moral courage to refuse aid from the trust beneficiaries who are willing to purchase public favor with money collected from the people by unjust methods. They ought to refuse, but refusing would be much easier if the colleges were better supported.

I have had some experience in this matter. Illinois college, located at Jacksonville, Illinois, is one of the most deserving of the small colleges. It needs money to enable it to do the work it has in hand. As a member of the board of trustees I have opposed accepting money from the trusts and have appealed to the public for aid for it. But a few—a very few—have responded. The total amount received as a result of the appeal has been less than $1,000. The failure of the masses to support the small colleges is liable to be construed as indifference to the insidious efforts now being made by the trusts to subsidize our colleges. Nothing would so much encourage the colleges to refuse tainted money as an outpouring of contributions from those who want to keep our institutions of learning free from pollution. If the farmers, business men, professional men and laborers would send what they could spare with assurances of interest it would strengthen those colleges which are still

independent. No amount is too small to help. One thousand readers of The Commoner giving $50 apiece could together raise $50,000. Four thousand readers giving $25 each could raise $100,000. Fifteen thousand readers giving $10 each could raise $150,000. Twenty-five thousand readers could by giving $5 each raise $125,000. One hundred thousand readers giving $1 each would handsomely endow a college. If some other college is preferred, help it, but let the college officials know that you are willing to make a little sacrifice to keep our colleges from being silenced by donations from the high priests of "frenzied finance." I am especially interested in my Alma Mater, Illinois college, but there are several hundred small colleges that need assistance. Will you help according to your means?

ARE THE PEOPLE POWERLESS?

Thomas W. Lawson has done great work in arousing the people to the evils of the money power or, as Mr. Lawson has called it, "the system." But Mr. Lawson is rather pessimistic so far as concerns the application of the logical remedy in a republic and the remedy which must be effective unless we are prepared to admit that popular government is a failure.

In his speeches delivered on his western tour, Mr. Lawson said that the way to attack "the system" is for the people to sell their stocks. But do we not know that the stockholding people—and they comprise a very small proportion of the population—will not be governed so much by a desire to attack "the system" as they will by an anxiety to derive profits from their stocks? Mayor Dunne of Chicago hit the nail on the head when he said that the cry, "Get rid of your stocks," is "the stock-gamblers' way of 'getting even.'" It is not, however, an available method for the people to hold in check those powerful influences through whose machinations public interests are made to suffer.

Mr. Lawson says "there is small hope from the ballot box." In his speech at Ottawa, Kan., he said that "the system" has unlimited dollars and ballots are impotent

against dollars. He said that with $5,000,000 he saw Rogers rob the democrats of the presidency in 1896 and he asked: "Do you imagine he would shrink from repeating the operation in 1908 if he feared that the man nominated would upset his control?"

Suppose the people should act on Mr. Lawson's advice to sell stock. Does Mr. Lawson think that Rogers and his associates would shrink from meeting, in an ingenious way, that move against them? Of course men who have bought elections in the past would not hesitate to undertake the purchase in the future, but Mr. Lawson forgets that in 1896 thousands of honest people were deceived and were really led to believe that the men who were contributing millions for the republican campaign fund were patriots rather than individuals who were seeking to perpetuate "the system." And while Mr. Rogers would not shrink from repeating the operation in 1908 it is very probable that thousands of men who marched to the ballot box shoulder to shoulder with Rogers and his associates would shrink from that association.

Mr. Lawson seems to be wholly hopeless of relief outside of the stock market. Relief is not to be looked for from the courts, according to Mr. Lawson, because, as he explains, the great corporations "do not hesitate to suborn perjury, bribe juries and pay judges for favorable decisions." In the same speech in which this statement was made Mr. Lawson opposes government ownership in its various phases, referring to municipal ownership as "a will o' the wisp." But when Mr. Lawson admits that the great corporations "do not hesitate to suborn perjury, bribe juries and pay judges for favorable decisions," and says that the people are powerless to protect themselves from this condition, he provides the very strongest argument in favor of government ownership. There are many people who are not yet convinced of the advisability of government ownership, but who are strongly in favor of government control and who desire to see an honest experiment along that line. But if there can be no such thing as government control, then these people will demand government ownership. Mr. Lawson's description means that the great corporations own the government,

and if the people become convinced that no relief under present forms is to be obtained from that condition, then they will prefer that the government shall own the great corporations.

While in the Lawson view relief can not be looked for either in the courts or at the ballot box, the president of the United States is also helpless. Mr. Lawson says:

> "I hate to say it but Roosevelt is as helpless in 'the system's' net as a bull in a balloon. Like Gulliver in Lilliputia, he is bound by a thousand threads —congress, senate, partisan interest and gratitude and all the tangible influences which the great money power can weave around any individual. How brave and quick the president is to do. A wrong is called to his attention. A law must needs be passed—the rebate evil must be curbed, and he sends a message to congress demanding instant action. What happens? Congress temporizes; the senate snubs him; 'the system' snickers."

What a striking picture Mr. Lawson has drawn! "The System" which he now assails not only dominates stock markets and controls prices but it is strong enough to command perjured testimony, to frame the verdicts of juries and to write the opinions of judges; it is strong enough to control national elections; and if, perchance, the president should be inclined to make an effort to give the people relief, the president himself is "as helpless in 'The System's' net as a bull in a balloon!" Senators, congressmen and judges act under "The System's" control and so thoroughly established has that "System" become that whenever a president concludes to act in the public interests he is snubbed by the senate and laughed at by the representatives of this great and growing power!

Does and intelligent man, accepting the description given by Mr. Lawson, imagine for one moment that the people are helpless once they become thoroughly aroused to the evils confronting them? Mr. Lawson's description of the helplessness of the president and of the people is nothing new in the history of our own government or that of other nations. It is not in the least surprising that the

enormous power which "the system" has built up has persuaded some that the people are utterly helpless in its presence. But if every one were to make that confession then there would be general agreement that popular government is a failure and we would rapidly drift toward monarchy.

Americans remember that Andrew Jackson was confronted with a similar situation. Nicholas Biddle declared that through the national bank he had the power to make and unmake congressmen, to build and destroy presidents. Jackson replied that if that were true he had more power than any one man ought to have in this country; and it was then that Jackson said that if Biddle's bank charter came before him "by the Eternal I'll veto it!" He began his war against Biddle and his bank and we all know that the result was the overthrow of that great financier and the institution which he so autocratically controlled. Another result was that Jackson lives in the American heart today as one who demonstrated, for his time and for all time, that no influence assailing the public interests is sufficiently powerful to withstand the onslaught of a determined president who acts in behalf of the people.

Benton in reviewing Jackson's work said that a Cicero overthrew Cataline and saved Rome, and Jackson overthrew the bank conspiracy and saved America. Can it be possible that in this day the money power is omnipotent and the American people must surrender to it? Can it be possible that the people of what we are pleased to call "the greatest republic on earth" can not afford to measure strength with the great monopolists who arrogantly assume to control the domain of politics, the judgments of courts, the votes of congressmen as well as the field of industry?

The power of the president under such conditions is not demonstrated by one who from the stump wages a campaign against the lawlessness of corporation chiefs and then from the White House throws the protecting arm of the administration around a conspicuous offender simply because he stands high in the councils of the dominant party. The president's power was better demonstrated by the man who, being taunted with the influence

of "The System" in his day, proved himself not "a weakling" and showed that he was a president who could act as well as speak.

INCOMPLETE EDUCATION

Professor William James of Harvard university in a recent address said: "There is not a public abuse on the whole eastern coast which does not receive the enthusiastic approval of some Harvard graduate." And he added: "Fifty years ago, the schools were supposed to free us from crimes and unhappiness, but we do not indulge in such sanguine hopes to any such extent today. Though education frees us from the more brutal forms of crime, it is true that education itself has put even meaner forms of crime in our way. The intellect is a servant of our passions and sometimes education only makes the person more adroit in carrying out these impulses."

President Roosevelt in his speech at Harvard brought substantially the same indictment against the well-educated lawyers. Unpleasant as it may be, the truth of these statements must be admitted. If our schools train men and then leave them to prey upon society, we are going to find a decreasing interest in education. What we need just now is to cultivate a moral purpose in our students which will make them employ their talent and their training for the benefit of society rather than against it. In other words, ethical development must accompany intellectual development or our country will find itself at the mercy of a lot of well-educated criminals trained at public expense for public harm. And it is just this ethical training that is likely to be neglected by a college which asks for an endowment from the trust magnate and the market speculator. As long as our colleges are looking to the big criminals for endowments, the professors can not take the position they ought to on sociological and economic questions.

LAWSON ON MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

Mr. Lawson has made his trip west the occasion for hurling a few thunderbolts at municipal ownership. In

Kansas he congratulated the people on the decision of the supreme court nullifying the state refinery law, and at Chicago he called municipal ownership a "will o' the wisp" and declared that if tried the public ownership of public utilities "is bound to prove a disappointment and a failure."

The reason given both in Kansas and in Chicago was that "the system" could corrupt the lawmakers and public service employees. Mr. Lawson has shown himself familiar with the methods employed by "the system" in dealing with the public through private corporations, but he betrays both lack of knowledge and lack of faith in the people when he argues that the people can not administer a public monopoly in their own interest. He betrays lack of knowledge because the thing which he says can not be done is being done in increasing measure here and elsewhere. Nearly all the cities own their own waterworks and many of them own their lighting plants. Philadelphia is the only city of any size that has gone back to private ownership and the attempt to extend the lease there woke the sleepy old city up as nothing else had done. It is a great deal easier for a city government to avoid corruption when it owns and operates its public utilities than when it turns these utilities over to private corporations. Mr. Lawson lacks faith in the people. There is a growing conviction that "a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable," and Mr. Lawson's disclosures have contributed to that conviction. The remedy is not to turn over public utilities to the Rockefellers and Rogerses, but to restore competition where competition is possible and to give the public the fruits of the monopoly where a monopoly is unavoidable.

The people will find ways of doing whatever it is necessary for them to do. The postoffice department is better run than the express companies, and at less expense to the public. The public utilities are conducted better and at less cost to the people where the public controls them than where they are controlled by private companies and the service will be still further improved as the cities enlarge the scope of their work.

Mr. Lawson is doing good when he attacks the Wall street speculators, but he does himself injustice when he attacks municipal ownership.

ROOT'S SELECTION UNFORTUNATE

The Commoner has taken pleasure in commending the president wherever he has shown a disposition to take the people's side in any controversy, but it will be as free to point out his errors as to praise his good deeds.

President Roosevelt made a lamentable mistake when he took Paul Morton into his cabinet and he aggravated the mistake when he covered the secretary's retreat with a glowing eulogy. Now, he raises former Secretary of War Root to the position of premier in his cabinet and in so doing makes this distinguished corporation attorney eligible to the presidency in case of Mr. Roosevelt's death. Mr. Root is an exceedingly able man—one of the ablest in the country, but his brains have been for hire to any corporation that could offer to pay the price demanded.

When the president recently scored the lawyers who accepted employment from those who plot against the public he might with propriety have named Mr. Root as a conspicuous illustration. The new secretary was an attorney for the railroads in the Merger case and he was on the pay roll of the Equitable. He is about as far removed as one could well be from the ideal public servant and his influence on the president is likely to be as harmful as was the influence of Morton.

There is another objection to his appointment. He is not only the constitutional successor to the president in case of the latter's death, but his appointment gives him a boom for presidential nomination. Being the appointee of the president, the president's friends can not well oppose him and the corporations ought to be entirely satisfied with him. As secretary of state he does not have to show his hand on economic or corporate questions and therefore can avoid exciting the wrath of the people.

All things considered the appointment of Mr. Root is not a good sign. If Mr. Roosevelt really means to be a reform president he ought to surround himself with those who are in sympathy with his work. He will find the path rugged enough at best; he can not afford to fill his official household with those who have grown rich by furnishing legal advice to exploiters of the public. Mr. Root has not exhibited the "civic conscience" about which the president speaks so frequently.

THE PASS AS A BRIBE

The *Kansas City Journal,* a republican paper, is authority for the statement that the managers of an eastern railroad have refused all requests for free transportation coming from the congressmen who supported the Esch-Townsend bill. The *Journal* says that the president of this road has written to certain members of congress a letter saying that since favors do not induce on the part of the recipient "even a fair consideration of the railroad's rights," his company will grant no more of these free passes. In the same letter this railroad president says:

> "I never was in favor of granting political transportation and now I have a good opportunity to cut off some of those objectionable deadheads. I am not handling them with gloves either. Transportation has been given them in the past upon the theory that they were friends, but when we needed friends they were not there."

Several years ago a member of the Illinois legislature applied to the president of the Santa Fe railroad for a pass. In reply the legislator received the following:

> "Your letter of the 22d to President Ripley, requesting an annual over the railroad of this company, has been referred to me. A couple of years ago, after you had been furnished with an annual over this line, you voted against a bill which you knew this company was directly interested in. Do you know of any particular reason, therefore, why we should favor you with an annual this year?"

These two letters state as plainly as language can that a railroad gives passes to legislators and to public officials as a matter of business, expecting to receive a favorable consideration in return. They show further that the legislator who refuses to recognize the pass as a bribe must not expect to get any more passes.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the evils of the pass system, and also a demonstration of the fact that the evil is recognized in law, is to be found in the very general

practice among our courts. If it was known that a juror in a case to which a railroad company was a party held a pass over that railroad company's lines, the presentation of that fact to the court would bar that juror from participation in the case. Recently such an objection was raised in a western court. It was shown that a juror had received a trip pass over the lines of the railroad company which happened to be defendant in that particular case. The attorney for the plaintiff made objection on this ground, and the judge promptly told the juror to stand aside. At the same time, however, the judge who made that ruling had in his pocket an annual pass over the lines of that same railroad company.

It is true that the man who had accepted a trip pass was not qualified to serve as juror in that case. Who will deny the truth of the statement that the man who had accepted an annual pass from that same line was not qualified to act as judge in that case?

The whole pass system is an abomination. When a pass is given to a private citizen it is unjust to the traveling public generally, and when it is given to the public official it is given with the expectation that the company will receive considerably more in the way of official favors—in the matter of things done which should not be done and things left undone which should be done—than could be derived from the payment by that official of cash fares.

In refusing passes Secretary Bonaparte showed that he understood that the pass is in the nature of a bribe. But other members of Mr. Roosevelt's cabinet have not yet followed Secretary Bonaparte's good example.

TRIAL BY JURY

Why should any one be surprised because Secretary of War Taft made bold in his Yale address to question the sacredness of "trial by jury?" Mr. Taft has eminent republican authority for his position.

Have we forgotten that when a republican president sent his instructions to the Philippine commissioners he used the language of the Sixth amendment to the consti-

tution, barring a very important clause? While in the language of the Sixth amendment he directed that "in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right of speedy and public trial" he omitted the balance of the sentence, to wit, "by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which districts shall have been previously ascertained by law."

When Senator Lodge offered an amendment to the Philippine bill extending to the inhabitants of the islands a bill of rights, it was noticeable that he had excepted the clause granting jury trial and the right to bear arms.

That eminent republican newspaper, the *New York Tribune,* referring to Senator Lodge's proposition, asked "what more can the Filipinos ask and what more can anybody ask for them?" The *Tribune* explained that trial by jury was denied to the Filipinos because, as it said: "It is obvious that jury trials among a people even the most advanced of whom have not the slightest conception of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence would be a complete failure. Instead of being a guaranty of justice it would amount to a denial of justice. We guarantee the substance of the Anglo-Saxon liberty freed from forms unsuited to Philippine conditions."

On June 1, 1904, the United States supreme court rendered an opinion in which the right of trial by jury figured. The case under consideration was a libel suit in which the editors of a Manila paper had been convicted after being refused a trial by jury. It was another, "five to four" opinion. The majority of the court, speaking through Justice Day, said that the government of the Philippines has been expressly left by the Treaty of Paris in the hands of congress, and that congress, because of the incapacity of the people of the islands, had purposely withheld the right of trial by jury. The court confirmed the conviction of the editors in the Manila court, and held that the refusal of the jury trial was correct.

Justices Harlan, Peckham, Brewer and Fuller dissented. In the dissenting opinion Justice Harlan declared that the decision of the majority amounted to an amendment of the constitution. He considered that a most dangerous step, declaring that the right of trial

by jury was fundamental and necessarily extends to any place controlled by the United States and gives a privilege which can not be taken away by any power of congress.

If the right of trial by jury is so far from being a sacred right that we can safely deny it to the Filipinos then why need we be surprised when the right is seriously assailed when applied among the people in our own immediate land? According to the old-fashioned view it was a sacred right. Mr. Jefferson considered it "the only anchor ever yet imagined by man by which a government can be held to the principles of its constitution;" and among the complaints enumerated in the Declaration of Independence is that King George was "guilty of depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury."

CABINET SALARIES

The *Chicago Tribune* announces through its Washington correspondent that an effort is to be made in the next congress to raise the salaries of cabinet officers. The complaint is made that the secretaries can not live in the style they should on the money they now receive. Well, that is a matter of opinion. If our country is going to ape the monarchies of the old world and attempt to awe the masses with gorgeous social display then it will be necessary to raise salaries all around. But if government officials are willing to observe the simplicity that befits a republic the present salaries are sufficient. The congressmen and senators who live within their salaries are the best officials in those bodies and it would not be difficult to find competent cabinet officers who could live on cabinet salaries.

Instead of trying to imitate the extravagance of European officialdom it would be refreshing to see our country set an example in the careful use of public money. Every increase in official salaries tends to lessen the number from which selection can be made. There is a growing tendency to measure men by their incomes—those who give all their time to money making being ranked higher than those who give part of their time to the public. If

an increase in official salaries is made it will be followed by a demand for more higher priced corporation attorneys in the public service—and we have enough now.

The offices ought not to be taken out of the reach of those who prefer to be known because of their contribution to the world rather than because of the money they have collected from society. The government needs public spirited, patriotic officials, not men whose souls are bent on growing rich.

MODERN MARTYRS

Professor Laughlin, head of the political economy department of Chicago University, is preparing for a Carnegie pension. He says that multi-millionaires are modern martyrs to public welfare. He says that the popular attacks on capital are "instigated by envy and ignorance." He also advances the doctrine that "fortunes dishonestly won may be honorably spent." (How better than pensioning those who spend their time excusing the crimes of their prospective benefactors?) Professor Laughlin will never be accused of being a demagogue, but can he escape being regarded as a sycophant? The Equitable directors ought to employ him.

REVENGE

The papers announce that an eastern spinster has left her former lover a fortune estimated at $150,000, on condition that he obtain a divorce from his wife. The spinster was disappointed because he finally preferred another woman to her and takes her revenge by trying to separate them. At first it might seem that the revenge was aimed at her successful rival, but the man is really the one at whom the thrust is made, for if he were sordid enough to divorce his wife to secure a fortune he would soon become an object of pity, for the contempt of his neighbors would make life unbearable. But what shall we say of the revengeful spirit which affixed the condition to the bequest. Possibly she thought she loved the man, but true love shows itself in a different way.

If she had loved him as many have loved she would either have kept silent, or, if she wanted to leave him money, she would have left it for him to use to promote his own happiness and welfare. Her love was of the kind that leads young men to kill their sweethearts (when they have been rejected) and then kill themselves.

It is a selfish love—if love can be selfish—that prompts one to punish the object of his affection. Sacrifice is the language of love. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends"—but the so-called love which exacts a penalty has in it the element of revenge rather than genuine affection.

And revenge is the hardest load that any one can carry. No one is strong enough to attempt such a burden, and no one can afford to risk its corroding influence on his life. This conditional bequest shows how cherishing revenge will warp a nature.

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES ARE POPULAR

There can be no doubt about the popularity of democratic principles. That those principles are growing in popularity is not open to question. Ask any admirer of President Roosevelt why he is popular and you will find that it is due to his advocacy, or supposed advocacy, of principles and policies that are democratic. Nothing brought Mr. Roosevelt more applause during his first administration than his settlement of the anthracite coal strike. And how did he settle it? By arbitration. Now, the democratic platforms of 1896 and 1900 demanded arbitration while the republican platforms were silent on the subject. But he not only waited until there was great suffering and loss before proposing arbitration, but he did nothing afterward to secure a permanent arbitration board for the prevention of strikes. If he won popularity by a small application of a democratic policy, would he not have won more popularity if he had urged the establishment of a permanent arbitration board?

He again won popularity by recommending railroad regulation. The democratic platform demanded that, but the republican platform was silent on the subject. The

severest criticism has come from the shielding of Morton —that was not democratic. He is strong when he is democratic and weak when he departs from democratic ideas. He is now being commended for enforcing the criminal law against the Beef trust. The democratic platform demands it; the republican platis silent on the subject. Would he not be more popular if he enforced the criminal law against all trusts? That would be democratic.

If a president can achieve popularity by being spasmodically and sporadically democratic, what would be the popularity of a president consistently and persistently democratic?

Governor LaFollette has made himself invincible in Wisconsin by advocating things which are democratic. The primary system is not only democratic in principle, but it was adopted by the democratic party in the south before it began to spread in the north. Governor LaFollette is democratic on the railroad question also.

Governor Cummins has strengthened himself by showing democratic symptoms, but he lacks LaFollette's moral courage. When republicans can build up a following by adopting democratic ideas let no democrat falter in the fight.

We need more men in all the parties who will dare to espouse democratic principles. There is not a northern state but needs strong and aggressive advocates of democratic principles and policies. They are and must be the basis of all political strength.

SOME CRIMES COMPARED

Not including Senator Dietrich of Nebraska, who escaped on a demurrer—three United States senators have lately been proved guilty of wrong-doing. Senator Burton, of Kansas, was convicted of practicing before the postoffice department, Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, was convicted of receiving money for legal services rendered before the departments, and Senator Depew was shown

to have drawn a complimentary salary from the Equitable and to have voted for a doubtful loan to a corporation in which he was interested. All these are now in disgrace and "none so poor as to do them reverence," and yet their crimes are not so great as the crimes of some who still stand high. Both Burton and Mitchell violated the law—a very necessary and salutary law—but how many were injured by their acts? Few at most. Mr. Depew's offenses are rank and disgusting, but the sins for which he is now being lashed by public opinion are minor offenses compared with those which he and other senators are constantly committing.

Mr. Depew was for years the lobbyist of the New York Central railroad and was finally made senator by the railroad influence. Outside of the senate and inside of the senate he has been the servile tool of the corporations. He has never been in a position to decide any question from the standpoint of the people. The facts have been known to all and yet he could move in polite society, sit in the directorate of Yale and pose as a moralist. But the moment he is found guilty of petty pilfering he falls like Lucifer. The evil he has been doing as lobbyist and corporate representative in the senate is immeasurably greater than the evil he has done as a director of the Equitable, but it was not so regarded by the public. Nor does Depew stand alone. Aldrich, Platt et al. are much more dangerous to the public than either Burton or Mitchell, for their subserviency to the corporations affects all the people.

The conscience of the nation was shocked because Addicks tried to buy a senatorship for himself and yet that conscience is but slightly disturbed when railroads and trusts buy seats for their paid representatives. Burton and Mitchell deserve the punishment that they now seem likely to receive, but the day of rejoicing will not come until the senate is rid of its big grafters as well as its little ones, and the best way to purify the senate is to make that body elective.

When the voters have a chance to speak directly upon the question they will retire the eminent attorneys who now draw salaries from the public for representing the railroads, express companies and trusts in the United States senate.

THE STRIKE'S LESSON

The lesson taught by the Chicago teamster's strike ought not to be lost on the public. After months of idleness on the part of the men, loss on the part of the employers, expense on the part of the city and annoyance to the people at large, the men decide to go back to work. Surely no one can believe that the present situation should be continued. Arbitration is the only remedy. The employers can not be trusted to arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions on which labor is to be employed; neither can the employe be trusted to determine arbitrarily the terms and conditions upon which business shall be done. Both are likely to take a one-sided view. In a prolonged contest between labor and capital the latter has the advantage because the wage earners have so little laid up that their necessities drive them to accept at last terms which they believe unjust.

The interests of the laboring men and the interests of the public demand the substitution of arbitration for the clumsy and expensive strike system and the employers ought to consent to it. An impartial body would in nearly every case reach a decision acceptable to all and thus avert a test of endurance. It is not necessary that the finding be binding on the parties. If there is compulsory submission of the questions in dispute public opinion can be relied upon to enforce the findings. Every state should have a law establishing a permanent board with power to investigate any case at the request of either side. In fact, society has so much interest in the establishment of justice that the board should be authorized to act on its own initiative even if both parties prefer to fight it out between themselves. So long as the investigation is for the guidance of public opinion and not binding upon the parties neither party can object to an investigation. In order to insure fairness the permanent board should contain two temporary members for each investigation—one recommended by each side.

Such a system would go far toward preventing strikes by removing the cause of disagreement.

No position taken by the democratic party has ever been more completely vindicated than the position taken in favor of arbitration, and this position taken in 1896

was reiterated in 1900 and 1904. The demand for arbitration ought to be renewed in 1908 and be given even greater emphasis.

"FADS AND FANCIES"

New York society is stirred because some of its members have been led into the buying of an expensive book because their names would appear in it. Some paid five hundred, some fifteen hundred, some twenty-five hundred, one person as high as ten thousand. In some cases the persons were threatened, it is said, with unpleasant notoriety if they did not subscribe, but in most cases it was simply a tax on vanity.

While in this case the tax was high the system did not differ much from that employed in many enterprises of less magnitude. Did you ever look through the various publications known as the "Great men of —— state" or "History of —— county?"

As a rule the pictures and sketches are paid for on exactly the same principle. The argument is: "The book would not be complete without your picture." "Your neighbors will expect to see a sketch of your life in here," etc. A good answer to make is the one that Cato made when asked why no monuments had been erected to him: "I would rather have men ask why no monuments have been erected to me than to have them ask why monuments had been erected in my honor."

ELECTING SENATORS

The *Milwaukee Sentinel* complains because "the trial and conviction of Senator Mitchell has, as was to be expected, been seized upon by advocates of the proposition to elect United States senators by popular vote as an argument in favor of their schemes."

The *Sentinel* states the case this way: "Mitchell, Burton and Dietrich proved unworthy of the trust reposed in them. Ergo, the method of electing senators is wrong." The *Sentinel* says that this does not fit in with the "graft" revelations that are now being made in all

parts of the country, and that "from San Francisco to New York it has been discovered that the public officers elected by the people also have been false to their trust." The *Sentinel* says it is no surprise that among ninety men in the United States senate "here and there may be found one who puts pecuniary profit above personal honor and uses his position to advance his own fortunes."

It is, of course, deplorable that men who have been elected to the United States senate have laid themselves open to the charges preferred against Mitchell, Burton, Dietrich and Depew. But while these individual breaches of conduct are to be condemned, advocates of the proposition to elect United States senators by popular vote do not rely upon these instances for their argument.

When United States senators are chosen by great corporations it is not surprising that it develops that these men are as ready to indulge in petty peculation as they are to assist the corporations, through whose influence they were elected, to oppress the people. But time was when it would have been regarded as a very grave situation when even four out of the ninety members of the United States senate are arraigned on charges affecting their personal integrity. But, as The Commoner has said before, while the conduct of the Burtons, the Mitchells and the Dietrichs is disgusting they are minor offenses compared with those which Depew and other senators are constantly committing.

It has been repeatedly charged, and it is generally believed, that many of the members of the United States senate serve as the special champions of great corporations rather than as the representatives of the people. The plan of electing senators by the legislature has given to the corporations, in most instances, the power of selection, and they have not hesitated to use that power. It is true that the people will make mistakes in the selection of public officials, but the man who accepts a public office at the hands of a corporation having no moral right to bestow the office may be depended upon to ignore the public interests and to serve his corporation master.

Mitchell and Burton both owed their elections to corporation favor. Depew's senatorship was secured for him by his railroad employers. When Dietrich was elected

two senators were chosen from Nebraska, and these senatorships were divided between rival corporation factions, one faction taking Mr. Millard and the other Mr. Dietrich. Had the people had a voice it is well understood in Nebraska that neither Dietrich nor Millard would have been mentioned for the place.

The senatorial elections of last winter show the unwisdom of the present plan. In two instances—that of La Follette in Wisconsin and Warner in Missouri—the corporations did not win. But other legislatures elected to the senate men who were confessedly under obligations to the railroads. The most influential man in the senate, Aldrich, of Rhode Island, has shown himself to be considerably more interested in upholding the special interests of the Rockefellers than in advancing the public welfare.

The man who argues that the people are likely to make mistakes in the selection of their public officials and who objects to bringing the government nearer and nearer to the people must be prepared to confess that popular government is a failure. The responsibility must be placed with the people. Then they will have the power to correct their errors, and their anxiety to protect themselves will prompt them to act intelligently, and to profit by any mistakes they may have made.

REPUBLICAN TARIFF REFORMERS

The *Ohio State Journal*, one of the oldest and ablest of the republican papers of Ohio, has joined the ranks of the tariff reformers.

In a recent editorial the *Journal* says: "The Boston *Transcript*, speaking of Congressman Lawrence of that state, says 'he is on record in favor of tariff revision and yet is a good protectionist.' Revision and protection are not incompatible terms. The *New York Tribune*, 'founded by Horace Greeley,' strongly advocates revision. The Dingley act was passed eight years ago, and the country has outgrown it. Senator Hopkins, who was on the ways and means committee of the house, which reported the bill says that it was well understood that the Dingley

duties were made higher than they should have been, because it was expected that reciprocity treaties would reduce them. The *New York Tribune* sustains this view by declaring that 'the law was faulty from the beginning.' With such authorities testifying to the inherent faults of the act, the persistency in opposing a revision on some items, is unfriendly to the cause of protection itself. Revision does not call for one step backward. It only insists upon carrying out the principle upon which the Dingley bill was enacted, viz., that some of the duties were fixed high in order to reduce them in the attainment of reciprocity. That reciprocity did not materialize, in the way anticipated, does not lessen the duty contemplated by the framers of the law. They fixed some rates high in order to reduce them. That was eight years ago. All hope that congress, at the coming session, will enact the proper revision, and thus fulfill the purpose of the law, and sustain the views of President Roosevelt.''

This is a blow from the shoulder and from Ohio. It is too much to expect that the tariff barons will surrender the advantage which the Dingley bill gave them, but it is encouraging to know that an increasing number of republicans are becoming restive under the yoke of the protected interests.

FEEDING THE DISEASE

It is reported that the secretary of agriculture is thinking of raising the salaries of the crop report officials in order to remove the temptation to sell information. The attempt is likely to feed the disease rather than cure it. Men are apt to increase their living expenses as their salaries are increased and a man who in office accustoms himself to an expenditure which he can not afford out of office is tempted to make money on the side in order to provide against loss of position. Experience shows that dishonesty is as common (if not more common) among well paid officials as among the poorly paid. The Equitable grafters for instance were well paid—so well paid that they seem to have lost all sense of proportion between service and compensation. The secretary of the treasury does not receive any more than the secretary of state al-

though the former handles hundreds of millions while the latter handles scarcely any money. Must we raise Secretary Shaw's salary? What we need is a higher standard of official conscience, not higher salaries, and, incidentally, it may be remarked that it will be hard to make officials regard office as a public trust so long as manufacturers, railroad magnates and financiers are allowed to use the government as a private asset in business.

If the instrumentalities of government are used to enrich favored interests we must not be surprised if administrative officials become lax in dealing with the public. Special privileges granted by legislation breed dishonesty in the executive departments.

IS THIS PROSPERITY?

We are told by the republicans that the country is enjoying a period of unexampled prosperity. It might be pertinent to ask why the increasing hostility between labor and capital and why the extraordinary accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few. The republican platform of last year offered no remedy and promised no relief. But the object of this editorial is to call attention to another development of modern business, namely, the employment of so many girls in store and factory. Go into any great city or factory town at morning or at evening and you will find an army of girls with dinner basket in hand trudging to and from work. Is the country prosperous when the girls have to become breadwinners at an early age in order to piece out the family income? Surely under favorable conditions the head of the family ought to be able to support his wife and children. Often the work is of a kind too severe for women. What is the effect to be on future generations? Women may displace men in the shop but men can not take woman's place in the home. Any system that lessen's woman's ability to discharge the duties of wife and mother must in the end bring a harvest of disasters. Will the republicans insist that this forcing of women into the fields of remunerative labor is a step in the line of progress? If not, what plans have they for the improvement of present industrial conditions?

MUNICIPAL TELEPHONES

Press dispatches from London announce that England will soon have a system of government telephones. Public ownership must sooner or later extend to the telephones. The telephone business is by its nature a monopoly. No one cares to have several different phones in his house. One telephone system in a city is very much more convenient than several systems, but if the one system is in the hands of private citizens it is sure to develop all the objectionable features of a monopoly.

Public ownership is the only solution. The city should own the city system, the county should own the system for the country outside of the cities and furnish connection between the cities of the country. They can add inter-county lines and the national can, if it becomes necessary, add interstate lines.

Our system of government is admirably adapted to this divided work. Each subdivision can do the work to be done within its limits. In some states the cities are not allowed to take up this work, but the laws should be changed. The telephone monopoly will soon be as burdensome as the telegraph monopoly and the railroad monopoly if private ownership is permitted.

SOCIAL DISTINCTION AT YALE

Dean Wright of the Yale academic department in his report to President Hadley complains that one of the worse evils at Yale is the segregation of rich students in expensive dormitories. He says: "Perhaps the most serious evil connected with this segregation of the well-to-do students is that it is bringing together, especially in the sophomore year, those who aim to form the society set, whose chief purpose in college is popularity and social recognition, and to whom for this reason the claims of scholarship become secondary." He adds that fathers sometimes ask for these expensive quarters and give as a reason that they do not want their sons to be at a social disadvantage. The protest submitted by Dean Wright is a healthy sign.

Snobbishness ought not to be tolerated in our colleges and it is more apt to make this appearance in the large colleges than in the small ones. It is even dangerous to have rooms of different prices. It is better to have all rooms rented at the same price and let the best rooms go as a reward of merit to the best, the higher classes selecting first.

There is evidence of a revival of democratic spirit and it seems to have struck Yale. May the tide continue to rise until aristocracy will be eliminated from our institutions of learning.

THEY FEAR THE SHOCK

The tariff question is growing more and more embarrassing to the administration. The demand for revision is increasing and yet the republicans are afraid to commence revising for fear they can not find a stopping place. They seem inclined to take hold of the machine, but they dread the shock.

To refuse to do anything is to alienate the tariff reformers; to make any material reduction is to anger the beneficiaries of high tariff. Which ever way they turn they see trouble brewing.

The latest protest comes from the building associations. The representatives of these associations recently met in national conference and one of the conferees pointed out in an able paper that the tariff on building material was not only a heavy burden to home builders, but a hindrance to home building. The arguments made so commended themselves to those present that a committee was appointed to draft and present to congress a memorial asking for a reduction of the tariff on building material. The position taken is directly in line with the position which the democrats have consistently held for years. They have insisted that the republican leaders while prating about home industries have not only neglected but actually discriminated against the most important home industry—the industry of home building. The young man who, selecting some young woman who is willing to trust her future to his brain and arm, starts out to build for himself and wife a home is harassed at every step by the

greed of the protected manufacturers. They demand a tribute on lumber, hardware, carpets, furniture—on everything that enters into the home. When the democratic party says to them, "Hands off and let that home industry live," it is protecting the greatest home industry that this or any other country ever had.

But the voice of the home builder will not be heard in republican councils—he does not contribute to the campaign fund. He simply votes and as long as he votes the ticket straight no matter what the party does his interests will not be considered. The protected interests send their representatives to Washington and threaten revenge if their subsidy is disturbed. The situation recalls the story of the tramp and the merchant. The tramp went into a clothing store and when the merchant was not looking picked up a coat and put it on and ran out. As he went out of the door the merchant saw him and took after him, shouting, "stop thief," but the thief did not stop. Then a policeman joined the chase and shouted "stop thief," but he did not stop. When the policeman drew his revolver and warned him that he would shoot, the merchant became excited, grabbed the policeman by the arm and begged, "If you do shoot, shoot him in the pants, the coat belongs to me."

The trouble is that the republican leaders are afraid to shoot anywhere for they fear they will offend some of the corporations that furnish the sinews of war. They recognize that the tariff question is like an electric battery and they are afraid of it.

CARNEGIE AND MISSISSIPPI

Governor Vardaman of Mississippi has explained why the Mississippi university's trustees refused Carnegie's offer of $25,000 for the establishment of a library. The offer was declined by a unanimous vote of the board. Governor Vardaman holds that donations from trust magnates serve as monuments to the wrong-doings of the donors. He says that these men have accumulated their money through unholy methods, and he protests against the acceptance by Mississippi of any gift that would have

a tendency to cause the youth of that state to minimize the evils of the methods employed by these multi-millionaires. Governor Vardaman says:

> "We have in Mississippi the purest and best stock of men and women under God's heaven, and we do not want them warped from the broad spirit of fairness and integrity and purity which has made us the proud people we are today, by being taught to bow down in a thankful humbleness to such men as Andrew Carnegie and Rockefeller, and become subservient to the spirit of greed and commercialism which has bred the trust and fostered the slavery of the American workingman. I would rather see the walls of our state university and our colleges crumble into dust and the buildings be battered and grimy than that they should be built up and handsomely painted and furnished by this money which has been coined from the blood and tears of the toiling masses, 'demanding the usury of self-respect,' which we can not afford to pay.
>
> "We may not have in Mississippi the scientific equipment for imparting knowledge and all the modern accessories that make up the great institutions of learning, but we have the means of making strong and stalwart men and women, who scorn the slavery of wealth and stand unequalled in their proud independence of thought."

The chief beneficiary of the steel trust is beginning to get his share of the limelight. To avoid the disgrace of dying rich Mr. Carnegie may yet have to get out of the trust business.

THE SMALL COLLEGE

President Harper announces that the Chicago University is going to be divided up into a number of small colleges. He says: "Along with the recognized advantages belonging to a large institution, it is well understood that some of the undoubted advantages of a small

college are in danger of being lost. In order, if possible, to combine some of these benefits which are found in a small college with the resources and cosmopolitanism of a great institution it is intended that beginning with the next autumn quarter the junior colleges shall be divided into small colleges."

This confession coming from so high a source ought to convince parents of the wisdom of allowing their children to secure the earlier part (at least) of their college training at the smaller and nearer institutions. The small college furnishes education at a lower cost than the larger institution; it keeps the boy nearer home, thus enabling him to visit home and his parents to visit him; it brings the teacher and the student closer together and gives the student the benefits of the teacher's ideals. The small college, if under Christian influences, also gives more attention to ethical culture.

Mr. Bryan, as president of the board of trustees of Illinois College (Jacksonville, Ill.), is especially interested in that institution and loses no opportunity to bring it to the attention of the parents who have children to educate, but there are a great many excellent small colleges scattered over the country and other things being equal, the nearest one is the best.

NO DANGER OF THIRD TERM

Some of the democrats are expressing fear that the president may be persuaded to run for a third term. There is no need for alarm. He has said that he will not under any circumstances be a candidate to succeed himself and there is no reason to believe that he has changed or will change his mind on this subject. He has declared that he regards this as his second term and his own construction has been accepted. Having served nearly three and a half years of Mr. McKinley's second term he could hardly justify any other construction.

Without questioning the good faith of the president it may be added that he would have a great deal of assistance in avoiding another term if assistance were necessary. The republican party is divided as the demo-

cratic party was in 1896 and he can not pass through the next three years without alienating one element of the party. He is now counted among the reformers. If he lives up to the promises he has made, the corporations would fight his renomination; if he falters, he will lose the popularity upon which another nomination is predicated.

Neither is it sure that he would be a strong candidate, if nominated. His large majority in 1904 was not so much a personal or party victory as a democratic defeat. He received only about one hundred and fifty thousand more votes than the normal republican strength while Judge Parker received about a million and a half less than the normal democratic vote. If this was the president's experience when he had on his side the feeling that he was entitled to an endorsement what would be his experience if he had to carry the odium of a third term? The sentiment against a third term was so strong that Grant had to bow to it. Could Roosevelt overcome it? The names of Washington and Jefferson and Jackson are still potent and they refused to consider a third term. Would the people admire an ambition which would disregard their example?

No, Mr. Roosevelt does not want a third term and if he did want it he would find the anti-third term sentiment an insuperable obstacle.

Let him serve the people with an eye single to their welfare and the gratitude of his countrymen will be a richer reward than a dozen terms could bestow.

NOT "A FOOLISH STRUGGLE"

An Indiana Girl of seventeen recently took her own life, leaving a note in which she described life as "a foolish struggle," adding "the sooner we get out of it the better." How can any one so regard life? Ask the patriarch who sits amid the falling shadows and recounts the achievements of the well-spent years; ask the matron whose declining days are made glad by the companionship of virtuous children and grandchildren; ask those who, strong in faith, are devoting themselves to the world's work or ministering to the needs of those

who require assistance—ask any of these and the answer will be that life instead of being "a foolish struggle" is a glorious drama in which pain and pleasure, joy and sorrow are so mixed that the love of a heavenly father shows forth with increasing clearness as the acts and scenes succeed each other.

Onl those can look upon life as "a foolish struggle" who view it from a selfish standpoint and, pursuing false ideals, are blind to its splendid possibilities and its great rewards. Because so much depends upon one's conception of life—upon one's ideals—it is the duty of the parents, the school teacher, and the religious instructor to set before the people—and especially the young—ideals that will inspire to noble endeavor.

NORWAY FOR INDEPENDENCE

At a referendum recently held the people of Norway, by a vote of about three thousand to one, declared for separation from Sweden. As Sweden has virtually consented to the separation, independence is now assured. If our nation had not strained its diplomatic eye-sight in its recognition of Panama it might find it easier to recognize Norway as the latest addition to the sisterhood of nations.

THE PRESIDENT'S OPPORTUNITY

At the Chicago tariff revision convention Editor Rosewater, of the *Omaha Bee,* pointed out that it is necessary sary to reform the methods of electing United States senators before anything can be done toward securing economic reform. He said that he had called the president's attention to the subject. Mr. Rosewater has struck the keynote. The popular election of senators is the gateway to other reforms. Two democratic national platforms have demanded this reform, but this should not keep the republicans from favoring it. Two populist platforms endorsed the change before the democratic conventions acted on it, but that did not deter the democrats. Two democratic congresses (the Fifty-second and Fifty-

third) passed the necessary resolution through the lower house and afterward two republican houses (the Fifty-sixth and Fifty-seventh) did the same. More than two-thirds of the states have already endorsed the reform through their legislatures.

Thus it will be seen that no party can claim it as a partisan movement. The president has a great opportunity to strike a blow at corporate domination. Let him send a ringing message to congress recommending this reform and with the democrats already for it his personal influence would be sufficient to force it through the senate. If it did fail of passage through the senate the president's action would insure a plank in the next republican national convention endorsing the reform.

Will the president improve the opportunity? This reform is so important that the credit of securing it would be glory enough for one administration. Will the president act or leave his successor to secure the honor?

TIME FOR REPENTANCE

Bishop Fallows thus speaks of the possibilities of a Rockefeller conversion:

> "Governor LaFollette, my fellow university student, has declared, according to report, Rockefeller is the greatest criminal of the age. Miss Tarbell has said he is money mad. Taking it for granted that his conduct has been correctly stated, there is not a doubt that money madness has seized him through and through.
>
> "In that madness he has bitten tens of thousands of youths and grown-up men. I can not help believing that the graft madness so widely prevailing has an intimate relationship to the baleful influence he has so widely exerted. There are insane persons and criminally insane characters. We make a fundamental distinction between the two. Which class of money mad people does Mr. Rockefeller belong to? The ordinary insane person has lost the faculty of judgment. He can not discern correctly. He can not distinguish between right and wrong.

"I believe Rockefeller to be mentally defective and color-blind in his makeup. He is a religious man. He is a member in good standing in the Baptist church. But he has put religion in one compartment of his being and business in another. He has seen no moral connection between them. St. Paul's eyes were opened to the fearful mistake he had been ignorantly making. From being a red-handed murderer by law he went to the front rank as a benefactor of mankind. But he confessed his guilt, incurred through ignorance. Let Mr. Rockefeller do the same. Let him boldly and at once say 'the things I have done were wrong.' Let him use his immense wealth at the same time in undoing that wrong as far as possible and in blessing his fellowmen. Fully forgiven, both by God and man, he will rise at once to be the St. John of the twentieth century. No other man now living has such an opportunity."

What a prospect! Rockefeller repentant and endeavoring to atone for the sins of the past! And yet such a reformation is not without parallel. The conscience can do wonders when aroused. The heart is ever in search of peace and it can not find it except in "the conscience void of offense toward God and man." Rockefeller is growing old; he realizes that he has but a short time to live. He is a believer in immortality and he is beginning to think more and more of that future life whose realities he must soon try. When he was younger he may have derived some pleasure from bankrupting a rival. Even the suicide of a broken-hearted competitor may not have disturbed him, but he is soon to meet some of his victims. Will he enjoy the meeting? Here he can surround his house with a large yard and station some one at the gate to keep out intruders, but he may begin to doubt his ability to secure an exclusive lease of one of the "many mansions"—what then? Yes, what then?

The approach of death has made many a man ponder, and it may be that Rockefeller has reached the pondering period. His recent donations indicate that he is beginning to put his affairs in shape for the inevitable change. But he can not find peace by continuing his

exploitation and then giving a percentage of his ill-gotten gains to subsidize colleges and churches. Repentance must come first. If he is a Bible student he might find some instructive reading in the sixth chapter of Micah:

> "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before Him with burnt offierings, with calves of a year old?
> "Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil. Shall I give my first born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?
> "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

If Mr. Rockefeller reads the chapter a little farther he will find other verses which may strike him as personal:

> "For the rich men thereof are full of violence, and the inhabitants thereof have spoken lies and their tongue is deceitful in their mouth.
> "Therefore also will I make thee sick in smiting thee, in making thee desolate because of thy sins.
> "* * * That I should make thee a desolation, and the inhabitants thereof an hissing; therefore ye shall bear the reproach of my people."

Nothing could be more calculated to bring Mr. Rockefeller to repentance than a refusal by Christians to help him to spend the proceeds of his "rivers of oil." Even the discussion of the subject has worked upon his mind and brought him glimpses of the sentiment of the public.

If he is at last led to see the wickedness of his trust methods, and reforms, he may prove a powerful factor in the overthrow of the trusts. But is he willing to try the recipe: "To do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly?"

STRENUOUS

A Chicago judge declares that the boy who fights and scraps—the "rough house" boy—will "under proper restraint" make a better citizen than the "good" boy. There are two objections to this logic. First it may be difficult to bring him under "proper restraint" and no parent is willing to risk the ruin of his son in the hope that his fighting qualities may finally be turned to advantage. And, second, it is not true that a useful life can be grafted upon a bad character easier than upon a good character. The judge seems to adopt the strenuous view of life which assumes that one will become a degenerate unless he engages in a fight every few days.

TARIFF REVISION AGITATION

The tariff revision convention recently held at Chicago was very significant. It was attended almost entirely by republicans and many of these republicans are prominent in their party. Governor Cummins was easily the leading spirit in the convention and he presented the Iowa idea with great force and earnestness.

The resolutions adopted by the convention have been printed in The Commoner, but the importance of the gathering is to be found, not so much in the resolutions or in the legislation suggested, as in the fact that the delegates were willing to admit the imperfections of the Dingley law and recognize the necessity for reciprocal trade. The standpatters seem to assume that we can sell to every one and buy of no one. Absurd as this doctrine is it has had many supporters. The recognition by republicans of a different doctrine is a most hopeful sign. As the *Chicago Record-Herald* suggests the tariff revisionists have a fight before them but it is to be hoped that they have the courage of their convictions. With Cummins leading a tariff revision fight and LaFollette leading an anti-railroad fight and Rosewater leading a fight for the popular election of senators, the next republican national convention promises to be almost as interesting as a democratic convention. Who will doubt now that democratic principles are being vindicated?

"ENOUGH"

The newspapers are now discussing the statement made by Mr. Otto Young when he retired from "The Fair," to the effect that he had enough money and did not care to increase his wealth. As his profits from The Fair amounted to over twelve millions during the last nineteen years he doubtless has saved a sum sufficient to make him comfortable during the remainder of his life, but the question raised by the discussion is an interesting one. How much is enough?

Several measures may be employed. The man who cares only for himself and has only himself to care for finds that a comparatively small sum will be enough. If he takes an enlightened view of his own well-being he finds that his body does better on simple food than upon that which is high-priced. His clothing account need not be larger—in fact, if he consults only his own physical comfort he will prefer a moderate income to a large one. He can with a few thousand dollars buy an annuity which will give him a sufficient income during life.

If he has a family, "enough" requires a larger definition. It requires twice as much to buy an annuity for himself and wife as to buy one for himself, and if he has children their education and establishment in life require further expenditure. Just how much a child should be helped is a question that can not be settled by any arbitrary formula—much depends upon the child. It is safe to say however, that parental affection is such that the child is apt to have the benefit of the doubt, and often the indulgence is so great that the child is weakened rather than strengthened for life's work. But no one should confine his sympathy to the members of his own family. Educational, religious and charitable enterprises appeal to all of us and are entitled to support. Not only do they claim a part of our yearly income, but they ought not to be forgotten when, in anticipation of death, we give directions for the distribution of our estates.

A man's will is a pretty good index of his character for his real self is here most clearly portrayed. The man who leaves a large estate and confines his bequests

to his relatives betrays a lack of interest in the humanities and benevolences—in other words, a lack of the spirit of brotherhood.

But there is a limit to the amount which a man should desire, even when he finds pleasure in giving, for there is a limit to the amount that a man can make honestly even when he devotes all of his time to money making, and no man should devote all of his time to accumulation. The world calls for personal services as well as for benevolent contributions. The state, society and the church all call for service and the person who can ignore these demands for the sake of money making is not likely to make a benevolent use of the money made. There is one line that can be drawn without danger of mistake. Whenever one has as much money as he can wisely use he has enough, and there is no doubt one has too much—whether he has much or little—when he becomes the servant rather than the master of his possessions. But even the wise use of money made will not excuse complete absorption in money making. Just as no father can afford to neglect his children in order to make money for them, so no citizen can afford to neglect public interests while he lives in order to leave money to the public when he dies.

There is a crying demand today for unselfish public service. The country needs men of heart and brain who will place a limit on their acquisitions—who after securing a competency will devote themselves to the betterment of social, economic and political conditions. The most fruitful cause of graft is to be found in the fact that political activity and office holding are left too largely to those who are in politics for the money they can make out of it. The surest way to purify politics is for all the people to give some time, not only to the study of political questions but to attendance upon primaries and conventions and elections. There is enough honesty among the people whenever it is expressed but at present reforms come by spasms rather than by persistent and consistent effort. The man who leaves to his children the blessings of a good government leaves them something more valuable, and more permanent than a fortune, and the man who gives time, thought and heart-energy to the problems

of the day is more helpfully generous than the man who chases the dollar day and night and then reluctantly surrenders his hoard to the custody of the public when death releases his grip upon it.

It is to be hoped that an increasing number of the well-to-do will say "enough" and then devote themselves to altruistic effort.

TAFT TO FILIPINOS

Secretary Taft tells the Filipinos that our nation has no desire to extend its territory by conquest but that having taken charge of the Philippine islands the nation's purpose is to fit the Filipinos for self-government. If this means that the Filipinos are to have independence it is approching the democratic position. There is, however, an important difference, namely, that the democrats assume a sufficient capacity for self-government as a starting point while the republicans think that it is something that has to be developed or cultivated by aliens. That there are degrees of capacity in nations is obvious, as there are degrees of self-restraint in individuals, but the doctrine that some are entirely incapable and need alien government is the basis for all the exploitation that is going on throughout the world. If we are in duty bound to govern the Filipinos because we are far ahead of them in capacity for self-government, how can the gap between them and us be closed unless they make more rapid growth than we do in capacity for self-government? If we must govern them until they catch up with us the promise of self-government is a delusion. If we assume that they are capable of governing themselves, then, having overthrown the Spanish government, we need only stay there long enough to help them establish a form of government and then leave them to administer it. This was the policy followed in Cuba and Cuba is governing herself very satisfactorily. If, however, the republicans distinguish between self-government and independence and propose to hold the islands permanently as a colony, then their position is an attack on our theory of government, for a colony is inconsistent with the basic principles of a republic.

All reasonable things rest on reason and the reasons which underlie a republic can not be reconciled with the reasons which support a colonial system. A republic rests upon the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, while colonies are governed on the theory that might makes right.

The republican leaders refuse to discuss the principles involved in an imperial policy because those principles are indefensible.

THE POWER OF PERSISTENCE

The prominence of Mr. Sergius Witte, the head of Russia's peace commission, has brought out the story of his rise. He was born in southern Russia, of Dutch ancestry, and graduated from the University of Odessa. Beginning at the bottom of the railway service he worked his way up to his present position. He has risen above the dukes and members of the aristocracy until he stands next to the czar in political influence. How did he do it? When a young man he read the writings of Frederick List and conceived the idea of applying to Russia the railroad scheme that List worked out for America and Germany. The railroad development of his native land was the dream of Witte's life and his persistence in carrying it out has given him the great distinction which he enjoys.

The results of persistent effort are often credited to ability, but there is no ability that yields a larger dividend than the ability to do hard work. This is a form of genius which can be cultivated and no other form of genius can be relied upon.

It is astonishing what patient, persevering effort can accomplish. The great work of the world has been done by those who attempted the seemingly impossible and refused to be discouraged. A negro preacher once illustrated faith by saying: "If the Lord tell me to butt my head through a stone wall, I butt—that is my part. Going through the wall is the Lord's part." As "constant dropping wears away the stone," so constant attack at last breaks the wall.

At New Ulm, Minn., there is a beautiful monument erected to Hermann, one of the earliest of the German warriors. It cost more than $30,000 and is admired by all who behold it. It was conceived by a German of that little city named Julius Berndt. He devoted years to the advocacy of the plan and at last saw his plan carried out.

Persistent effort is the outgrowth of faith. Only those who believe will labor. The farmer must have faith in the soil and the seasons and in his skill; the toiler must have faith in his brain, his muscle and his machinery. The young man must have faith in his strength and purpose and the reformer must have faith in mankind. Faith and then work—constant and persistent.

HERE IS A CHANCE

At Shelbyville, Ill., a few public spirited individuals have built a swimming pool for the boys. It is about thirty feet wide by one hundred feet long and has sides and bottom made of concrete. It only cost about five hundred dollars. Here is a chance for some friend of the boys in every city to render a real service. What a vast amount of comfort such a pool would bring to the boys of any community? Who does not remember the boyhood delights of the swimming pool?

PEACE AT PORTSMOUTH

"A peace is of the nature of a conquest; for then both parties nobly are subdued, and neither party loser."

The demonstrations in the town of Portsmouth when it was announced that terms of peace had been agreed upon, but reflected the sentiments felt throughout civilization. Men are turning from the spirit of war. "As on the sea of Gallilee, the Christ is whispering 'peace,'" there is growing in the hearts of men the conviction that wars must cease, that arbitration must replace force, and the wish is entertained—as the hope seems justified—that the time is soon coming when "the bugles will sound the truce of God to the whole world forever."

The results of the Portsmouth conference are creditable to all participants. Witte, one of Russia's strongest men, bore a large responsibility and he bore it well. It was his duty to secure for his country the best possible terms, and he secured terms such as few men believed could be obtained. Japan showed her magnanimity in yielding the hotly contested point of indemnity, but Japan will profit by her generosity; indeed she is already receiving some of her reward in the compliments bestowed upon her by men of all nations and in the prestige she has won by showing herself foremost in peace as she proved herself powerful in war. And last, but by no means least, Theodore Roosevelt, president of the United States, is entitled to the grateful thanks of the American people for the conspicuous part he played in bringing order out of chaos. He is entitled not only to the thanks of the American people upon whose nation his successful efforts to secure peace between Russia and Japan have reflected credit, but there are due him the thanks of the men of all nations, who have learned that peace, rather than war, concord, rather than turmoil, justice, rather than force, provide the substantial foundation for civilization and make for the real progress and greatness of governments.

We need not expect that the nations will disband their armies at once; we need not expect that all questions will be taken before the court of arbitration, but we have reason to believe that the light of a better day is dawning, and that we are about to enter upon an era in which concession will assert its supremacy over brute force, and the crown of victory be awarded, not to the nation that has the largest army or the strongest navy, but to the nation that sets the best example and contributes the most to the welfare of the world.

When Elijah was fleeing from the wrath of wicked Jezebel and believed all the prophets to have been slain, the Lord commanded him to stand upon the mountain, and as he stood there, a mighty wind swept by him and rent the rocks asunder, but God was not in the wind; and after the wind came an earthquake, but God was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire, but God was not in the fire; and after the fire, a still, small voice, and it was the voice of God. And so, today, throughout the

world an increasing number standing upon the heights are coming to believe that God is not in the ironclads that sweep the ocean with their guns, that God is not in the armies that shake the earth with their tread, or in the fire of musketry, but in the still, small voice of justice that issues from tribunals like that instituted at The Hague, or in the spirit that marked the concluding hours of the conference at Portsmouth.

THE BENNETT ESTATE SETTLED

Now that the Bennett estate is finally settled Mr. Bryan submits the following statement to the readers of The Commoner:

In the spring of 1900 Mr. Philo S. Bennett, living at New Haven, Conn., and engaged in the mercantile business in the city of New York, visited Nebraska and asked Mr. Bryan to assist him in preparing certain paragraphs of his will (all the other provisions being copied from a former will). The paragraphs referred to were: First, for a library at Salem, Ill. (It provided for a bequest of $1,500 to which Mr. Bryan was to add $1,500.) Second, $10,000 to establish a fund at twenty-five colleges, to be selected by Mr. Bryan, the annual proceeds to be used for a prize to encourage a study of the principles of free government. Third, $10,000 to be distributed among colleges, to be selected by Mr. Bryan, the annual income to be used to aid poor boys to obtain an education. Fourth, $10,000 to be distributed among colleges, to be selected by Mrs. Bryan, the annual income to be used to assist poor girls to obtain an education. Fifth, $50,000 to Mrs. Bennett, in trust for a purpose set forth in a sealed letter deposited with the will. This sealed letter directed Mrs. Bennett to pay the amount to Mr. Bryan (Mr. Bennett proposed it as a direct bequest but at the request of Mr. Bryan it was given to Mrs. Bennett in trust, because its acceptance was conditional). The sealed letter directed Mr. Bryan to distribute the $50,000 among educational and charitable institutions in case he refused to accept it for himself and family. The residuary legatees contested the three $10,000 items and the $50,000 item. The

court confirmed the $10,000 items but on technical grounds held that the $50,000 bequest was inoperative.

The readers of The Commoner have already been informed of the main facts, namely, that the widow and other relatives were bountifully provided for; that the testator's intention was never questioned and that the charge of undue influence was withdrawn; and that Mr. Bryan announced in the beginning that he would not accept the bequest without the consent of the widow, but that he felt in honor bound to insist upon the distribution of the $50,000 as directed by Mr. Bennett.

Mr. Bryan was thus drawn into a contest in which he had but a remote and contingent pecuniary interest, if in fact he had any at all, but which he could not in conscience abandon. The contest cost him a little more than fifteen hundred dollars for attorney's fees and court costs, besides traveling expenses and loss of time.

In submitting his report as executor he claimed the customary fee, $2,500, explaining that the amount would not be used by him for himself, but would be spent in completing the plans made by Mr. Bennett. The fee was allowed by the probate court and was used as follows:

Fourteen hundred and eighty-nine dollars and forty-three cents was used to pay that part of the inheritance tax which was not covered by interest, so that the $1,500 library fund, and the three $10,000 funds might be used in full. Three hundred and fifty dollars was given to the city of Salem as an endowment for the library (Mr. Bryan besides giving $1,500 to the Salem library gives the site, worth considerably more than $350). Two hundred dollars has been deposited with Mr. Sloan, Mr. Bennett's surviving partner, to pay for a bust of Mr. Bennett for the Salem library. The balance, $460.57 less the cost of filing reports, will be paid to Rev. Alexander Irvine, Mr. Bennett's pastor, to be used by him in the education of his sons.

The three $10,000 funds have been distributed as follows:

BENNETT PRIZE FUND

Delaware College, Newark, Del	$400
Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me	400
A. and M. College of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky	400

Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass..... 400
Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H..... 400
University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn..... 400
St. John's College, Annapolis, Md..... 400
University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho..... 400
University of Montana, Missoula, Mont..... 400
University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah..... 400
University of Washington, Seattle, Wash..... 400
University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D..... 400
University of California, Berkeley, Cal..... 400
Nevada State University, Reno, Nev..... 400
University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo..... 400
South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C..... 400
Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y..... 400
University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo..... 400
University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt..... 400
University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore..... 400
Yale University, New Haven, Conn..... 400
Brown University, Providence, R. I..... 400
University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. D.... 400
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa..... 400
Princeton University, Princeton, N. J..... 400

Each college is to invest the amount received and use the annual income for a prize for the best essay discussing the principles of free government. Mr. Bryan had already established similar prizes in nineteen states and the twenty-five colleges selected for the Bennett prize were selected from other states so that every state but one now contains a college giving such a prize.

MR. BRYAN'S FUND FOR BOYS

The fund for the aid of poor boys desiring a college education was distributed by Mr. Bryan as follows:

Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill.....$1,000
Park College, Parkville, Mo..... 750
College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va... 750
Doane College, Crete, Neb..... 500
Howard College, East Lake (near Birmingham Alabama) 500
Hendrix College, Conway, Ark..... 500
Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Ala..... 500
Kenyon College, Gambier, O..... 500

Muskingum College, New Concord, O..... 500
St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn..... 500
Hillsdale College, Conway, Ark..... 500
University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn..... 500
Trinity University, Waxahachie, Tex..... 500
Ripon College, Ripon, Wis..... 500
Nazareth College, Muskogee, I. T..... 500
Hope College, Holland, Mich..... 500
Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind..... 500
Sutherland College, Sutherland, Fla..... 500

MRS. BRYAN'S FUND FOR GIRLS

The fund for the aid of poor girls desiring to obtain a college education was distributed by Mrs. Bryan as follows:

Georgia Normal and Industrial College, Milledgeville, Ga.....$500
Eureka College, Eureka, Ill..... 500
Hastings College, Hastings, Neb..... 500
Wesleyan University, Buchannon, W. Va..... 500
Henry Kendall College, Muskogee, I. T..... 500
Williamsburg Institute, Williamsburg, Ky..... 500
Wesleyan University, University Place, Neb..... 500
Baylor University, Waco, Tex..... 500
Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia..... 500
Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La.. 500
State Normal and Industrial College, Greensboro, N. C..... 500
Hiram College, Hiram, O..... 500
Kingfisher College, Kingfisher, O. T..... 500
Academy of the Visitation, Dubuque, Ia..... 500
Williams Industrial College, Little Rock, Ark..... 500
Ewing College, Ewing, Ill..... 500
Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan..... 500
University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz..... 500
University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.... 500
The Mississippi Industrial Institute and College, Columbus, Miss..... 500

As the boys who are helped by the fund are to return the money to the college as soon after leaving college as they can conveniently do so and as the money when so returned is to be advanced to others the aid extended

will constantly increase. The girls aided are asked to do the same but it is not required of them.

In distributing the prize fund preference was given to state universities except where the state contained some college of greater importance.

In distributing the funds for the aid of poor boys and girls preference was usually given to the smaller colleges —the same amount of money going farther among these colleges.

All the principal denominations were recognized in the distribution—a little partiality being shown the Congregational colleges because Mr. Bennett attended the Congregational church.

Two colored schools were included and one of the other colleges has a considerable number of Indians enrolled among its students. The various funds are so distributed that in at least one college in every state and territory between the two oceans a permanent Bennett fund will perpetuate the name and recall the generosity of Philo Sherman Bennett.

Mr. and Mrs. Bryan, of course, received no compensation for distributing these funds but they are richly rewarded for the little they have been able to do by the consciousness that they have aided a friend to make a valuable contribution to his own and subsequent generations. The Bennett case has given Mr. Bryan a great deal of annoyance and some of the republican papers have maliciously misrepresented the facts, but it is over and the money secured for educational purposes will prove a continuing blessing to thousands of boys and girls, while the annoyance will soon be forgotten.

ANOTHER DOCTRINE APPROPRIATED

In contributing so largely to the promotion of peace between Russia and Japan our nation is taking a step toward the realization of the ideal presented by Mr. Bryan in his speech at Indianapolis accepting the second nomination. He said: "I can conceive of a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past—a destiny which meets the responsibilities of to-

day and measures up to the possibilities of the future. Behold a republic, resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth—a republic applying in practice and proclaiming to the world the self-evident proposition that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulate all to earnest endeavor and in which the law restrains every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury—a republic in which every citizen is a sovereign, but in which no one cares to wear a crown. Behold a republic standing erect while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments—a republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of an universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming a supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes—a republic whose history, like the path of the just, 'is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.' "

A PLAN FOR PERMANENT PEACE

To President Roosevelt: Circumstance placed you in a position where, as chief executive of the nation, you were able to bring Russia and Japan together to effect an honorable peace.

You performed your duty in a manner creditable to yourself and to your country. You have been hailed as a peacemaker and you realize how the peaceful victory thus achieved by you outshines your military exploits. Why not use the present opportunity to put on foot a movement for the establishment of permanent peace?

Last winter you asked for authority to enter into agreements which would be in effect arbitration treaties and the senate (wisely, I believe) refused to surrender the treaty making power. But now if you had been intrusted with the authority asked you would have hesitated to submit a question involving the nation's honor and it is not always possible to know in advance what questions may be involved. Why not ask congress for authority to submit all international questions (when an agreement can not be reached by parties interested) to an impartial board for investigation and report. Investigation will in nearly every case remove the cause of complaint and reconcile the parties. Questions which a nation might be unwilling to submit to arbitration in advance could be settled by investigation by an impartial international board.

It was a glorious thing to end the war between the Russ and the Jap but it would have been more glorious to have prevented the war and saved the frightful loss of life. The moral prestige which our nation now enjoys would in all probability enable it to lead a successful peace movement. The congratulations which you have received from the heads of European governments strengthen the chances of success. If the leading nations of the world would enter into an agreement to join in the creation of such a board and pledge themselves to submit all disputes to the board for investigation before declaring war the danger of war would be reduced to a minimum. Few men have had it in their power to do so much for humanity—will you improve the opportunity?

EXPLOITATION

A plan has been devised for exploiting the public. A man will buy a controlling interest in a bank and then use the deposits for his own schemes. As the deposits are usually several times the capital, the plan is a profitable one—until the bank breaks and then the depositors bear the burden. Some stringent banking legislation is needed for the protection of depositors.

DEMOCRATIC DOCTRINE

President Roosevelt endorses the democratic doctrine of railroad rate legislation; Governor LaFollette endorses rate legislation and also the democratic doctrine of primary elections; Governor Cummins endorses the democratic doctrine of tariff revision; Editor Rosewater endorses the democratic doctrine of election of senators by popular vote—next?

DIPLOMATIC GRAFT

It now develops that Minister Loomis was guilty of another "indiscretion." His appointment was urged by some speculators who wanted concessions in Venezuela. After securing his appointment they proceeded to enlist him in their behalf. Of all forms of graft no form is more revolting than diplomatic graft. Moral lapses in the conduct of public servants are bad enough when those servants deal with American citizens; they are worse when they are dealing with foreigners. Nothing is likely to prove more costly to our nation than an attempt to promote business enterprises through the state department and this is especially perilous when our representatives are pecuniarily interested in concessions. No one can act impartially when he has a selfish interest to serve. Our diplomatic representatives, like Caesar's wife, should be above suspicion.

AN IRRECONCILABLE CONFLICT

Some of the partisan editors of Iowa are expressing fear that the controversy between Governor Cummins and Secretary Shaw may disrupt the party in that state, but what can they do about it? The Cummins-Shaw fight is not personal, it is organic. It is likely that neither is especially fond of the other but their personal differences could easily be reconciled but for the fundamental antagonism between their ideas. Secretary Shaw is plutocratic in his sympathies; he believes that legisla-

tion should take care of the rich and that the rich can safely be left to take care of the poor. Tell him the story of Dives and Lazarus and he will insist that Lazarus was a lucky man to live near enough Dives to get the crumbs. Cummins, on the other hand, is a reformer and he naturally can have no dealings with a man who holds Mr. Shaw's views. If they were to agree to drop all their present differences they would fall out tomorrow over some new question because they view all questions from opposite standpoints.

Governor Cummins calls the secretary a "standpatter" and points out that the standpatters have always been the defenders of entrenched wrong. Secretary Shaw considers the governor a "grandstand-patter" and thinks he is "playing to the galleries"—an accusation brought against all who try to accomplish anything for the masses.

As the leaders differ, so do their followers and the line of cleavage runs through every community. It is an irreconcilable conflict which always existed and will exist as long as society is divided into the exploiting and the exploited classes. Editors "may cry peace, but there is no peace."

The Cummins-Shaw controversy is not a disease; it is merely a symptom. The democratic party went through the same struggle upon which the republican party is entering and that struggle resulted in a platform which now furnishes planks for republican reformers. The democratic party attempted a retrograde movement last year but the chastisement which it received and the growth of reform sentiment insure the return of the reform element of the party to control. The republicans must now decide whether they will free the organization from corporate control or risk the annihilation of the party. Governor Cummins believes in surgery; Secretary Shaw wants to ignore the evils that demand a remedy. And other states besides Wisconsin and Iowa are destined to witness republican contests which while apparently personal will in reality involve underlying principles. It is nature's plan, and there is no way of avoiding it. Only through contest is progress possible.

WITH WALL STREET INTERESTS

The appointment of Robert Bacon, until recently a business partner of J. Pierpont Morgan, as first assistant secretary of state is another evidence that the president does not appreciate the gravity of Mr. Loomis' offense against official ethics.

The *New York Herald* is exultant because "American diplomacy in the far east" will be "closely connected with Wall street." The *Herald* adds: "There is a greater game ahead. Mr. Morgan must feel sure that his interests will be safeguarded with a former business associate as assistant secretary of state." The "game" is outlined as follows by the *Herald:*

> "The appointment is significant of the big role which American, especially J. P. Morgan's, interests are to play in the new conditions the state department must face in the far east, as presaged by the Hankow railway concession development. The president knows by experience in the coal strike that Mr. Bacon has the confidence of Wall street, as well as intimate knowledge of its plans, in the transformation of China. There can be little doubt that in the Japanese development of Chinese railways American capital, as well as American products, will play a leading part. American diplomacy in the far east will therefore be closely connected with Wall street interests. Mr. Bacon may be regarded as an expert in his new field. It is not unlikely that his appointment as Mr. Root's assistant had some influence on Mr. Morgan's decision to give up the Hankow concession. There is a greater game ahead. Mr. Morgan must feel sure that his interests will be safeguarded with a former business associate as assistant secretary of state."

Mr. Loomis' appointment was urged in order to advance some enterprises in the south and now we have his successor closely connected with those who have schemes to develop in the far east. The masses will be called upon to tax themselves to keep the navy large enough to protect the exploiters—this is the program of those who be-

lieve that the government can properly be made a private asset in business. How are we to stop graft in cities and states if the federal government is used to promote great financial enterprises? Mr. Root says it is "a capital appointment." If this is a sample of the influence he is to exert over the president he will prove as much a burden to the administration as Morton was.

MR. BRYAN'S LABOR DAY SPEECH, 1905

At the Labor Day celebration at Omaha Mr. Bryan spoke as follows:

Instead of delivering a set speech, I desire to submit a few suggestions which seem to me appropriate to the day. In the first place, I am glad to participate in a labor day celebration because I believe it to be the duty of all of us to emphasize in every possible way the dignity of labor. No sentiment is more dangerous to the nation or more destructive to the morals of the people generally than the belief that labor is a dishonorable thing from which men should seek to divorce themselves and their families. We should lose no opportunity to propagate the idea that labor is respectable and that idleness ought to be despised. The young man who, with brain and muscle, adds something to the wealth of the country and contributes to the welfare of his fellows is engaged in a worthier work than the young man whose only ambition is to spend the money that some one else has left him. Our schools have sometimes lent themselves to the theory that education ought to lead one away from manual labor. The result has been that many have gone out from school ashamed to come into contact with dirt and dust and have sought only that kind of work which enables them to wear good clothes all the time. A contempt for manual labor is naturally followed by indifference toward those who engage in manual labor. The establishment of classes in society is largely due to this antipathy toward labor. Carl Hilty, an eminent Swiss statesman, in a book recenty published presents the theory that labor is necessary to health; and Tolstoy is a champion of the doctrine that bread labor—actual contact with the soil—is neces-

sary to restore sympathy between man and man. The first suggestion, therefore, that I desire to leave with you is that the doing of something useful ought to be the ambition of every life and that the idler should be shunned rather than envied.

I am also glad to take part in your exercises today because I believe in organized labor. I do not mean to say that organized labor will always abstain from mistakes or will always be wise in its decisions. To expect that would be to expect perfection, and perfection is not within the reach of any of us. But I believe that organization is not only necessary for the protection of labor's rights but useful for the advancement of the interests of those who toil. While it may be the primary object of members of labor organizations to secure benefits for themselves, it is impossible for them to confine the benefits of their organization to themselves. Those outside of the labor organization, even those laboring men who most bitterly oppose the labor organization, profit by the organization. When an organized body of laboring men secure better wages, shorter hours or improved conditions for themselves, they secure them, as a rule, for those engaged in the same work outside of the organization. This point was brought out in the Chicago street car strike. The union men insisted that only union men should be employed and the employers insisted that they ought to be allowed to employ non-union men. The union men replied that they would consent to the employment of non-union men provided the non-union men were employed at the former rate of wages, while the union men received the advanced rate which the strike had secured. The employers said that that was impossible because they could not get non-union men to work at a less rate than that received by the union workers.

There are certain things which the laboring man has a right to ask of society. Let me enumerate a few of these. First he has the right to ask for reasonable hours, and I believe that the eight-hour day is a reasonable request. When we remember that eight hours are required for sleep and something like an hour and a half for eating, and a considerable time for going to and from labor and removing from the person the stains of labor,

it will be seen that an eight-hour day does not, after all, give a man an unreasonable amount of time with his family. The wage earner is not a beast of burden; he is a human being. He has his family and time must be given for association with his family. Besides, he is an intelligent being and time must be allowed for mental recreation. He is a political factor also and time must be allowed him for preparation for the proper discharge of his political duties. He is also a moral being and a member of society and he has the right to claim a sufficient time for the discharge of his obligations to his fellow man and to his Creator. We can not expect the laboring man to be what he ought to be physically, mentally, morally, socially and politically if he is driven from his couch to the shop and from the shop back to his couch. While this question primarily affects the laboring man, it, in a broader sense, affects us all, for we are all so knit together that we can not separate ourselves from each other or, without danger to ourselves, subject any portion of the community to injustice.

The laboring man has the right to ask for arbitration of differences between labor and capital. This phase of the labor question is not fully appreciated on the farms and in the smaller towns, for the reason that there is a sympathy between employer and employe which regulates the conduct of both, where the number of employed is so small that there can be personal acquaintance. But where one man employs a thousand or ten thousand, personal acquaintance is impossible and the sympathy that rests upon acquaintance is likely to be absent. There must be some way of establishing justice between employer and employe and arbitration is the only method that has been proposed. The employer who arbitrarily insists that he has the right to run his own business without consulting his employes does not state all of the case. So long as in running his business he does not attempt to regulate the lives and the conditions that shall surround his employes, nobody will question his right, but when he includes in the running of his business the right to determine the material, the social, the intellectual, and the political standing of his employes, he is claiming that which he cannot defend. There ought to be in every

city, in every state and in the nation a permanent arbitration board with power to investigate and report upon any labor trouble at the request of either party or upon its own initiative. The compulsory investigation of a labor trouble must be distinguished from the compulsory enforcement of the finding of the board. It is far more important that the investigation shall be compulsory when either party desires it than that the finding shall be binding, because public opinion will surely enforce a fair and impartial finding.

I believe that this plan can be applied to differences between nations. We are all rejoicing that our nation has through the efforts of the president been instrumental in bringing peace between Russia and Japan. We have won more moral prestige by playing the role of peacemaker than we could have won in a generation by wars of conquest. If we had an international board of arbitration with an agreement that all the leading countries would submit their differences to the board for an impartial investigation before entering upon war, nearly if not all wars would be avoided.

The laboring man also has a right to ask for reasonable compensation and the reasonableness of compensation must depend upon the conditions which surround him. When the cost of living increases he has a right to expect increased wages; if his business requires a high order of skill he has the right to expect a larger pay than when engaged in work that requires less skill. The longer the preparation for work, the higher the compensation as a rule. Then, too, a business in which one can engage but a portion of the time must furnish a larger per diem than a business in which the work is constant. These are only a few of the conditions that enter into the determination of wages.

Having mentioned some of the things which the laboring man has a right to demand, let me add that society also makes demands upon the laborer. Our obligations in this life are mutual ones. None of us stand in a position where we can demand without making return. The laboring man owes faithful services to his employer and the labor organization will commend itself to the employers in proportion as its influence upon the members tends to increase their efficiency.

As public opinion is the all-controlling force in this country and the powerful factor in any country, the members of any labor organization will find the public inclined toward them in proportion as the organization proves its claim to the public confidence and respect. While a man's right to a reasonable wage and to reasonable hours is a legal one that ought to be recognized no matter what use a man makes of his money or of his time, still the laboring men will find that their claims will be re-enforced in proportion as they demonstrate the usefulness of the organization in promoting virtue and character among its members. A few members who make a bad use of surplus money or surplus time throw discredit upon the order and such waste of time and money will be used to answer the demand for increase of wages or more leisure.

The members of the labor organization also owe to society a respect for law. No one can afford to be lawless and no one can long expect public sympathy who attempts to substitute force and violence for reason and persuasion in any controversy. The labor organization ought to be swift to punish violations of the law among its members, for such violations, when unpunished, bring odium upon the entire body. The laboring men might point to some distinguished instances of lawlessness on the part of men who are quick to find fault with labor organizations. For instance, the Chicago Board of Trade recently repealed a rule which provided for the expulsion of a member who violated the law against grain gambling. If a labor organization were to announce, as the Chicago Board of Trade virtually did, that it would not require the expulsion of a member for the violation of the criminal law, there would be a loud outcry against the lawlessness of the labor organization and there will be an outcry against the lawlessness of the Chicago Board of Trade. A bad example like that is better rebuked than followed.

It is natural that the members of a labor union who tax themselves and contribute from their earnings to improve the conditions of labor should complain if the very ones who profit by their action act as strike breakers and attempt to defeat the plans and purposes of organized labor. And yet, irritating as this is, the laboring man must remember that he is not the only one who is sometimes

thwarted by the persons whom they try to benefit. That is the common lot of those who try to improve the world, and the laboring man must content himself with making such progress as he can by the use of moral suasion. Force may seem attractive to one who is angry, but the peaceful methods of example and argument commend themselves to those who will consult their better natures and take time for reflection. Progress is often slow. Those who are most eager to do good are apt to be most impatient. Satisfied of the righteousness of their own efforts, it is hard to understand how others can be indifferent or even antagonistic. But patience and persistent effort accomplish much. The labor organization has contributed mightily to the welfare of the wage earner. It has won him the confidence of the public generally and in its coming contests it can count upon increasing support as it proves itself a worthy champion of worthy men and women.

THE PRICE OF A SOUL

(The following article was written for a religious periodical but was refused publication because of the Rockefeller paragraph. Not being willing to omit that paragraph or to write for a publication that gave to Mr. Rockefeller's business methods even a negative endorsement Mr. Bryan asked for the return of the article.)

What is a soul worth? This is not a new question; it was asked nineteen hundred years ago by One who could measure with accuracy the value of the immortal part of man. Christ presents an unanswerable argument when he inquires: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? Or: What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"

Is man ever tempted to part with this priceless possession? Is he ever tempted to put anything above it? The Master never wasted time or words. The fact that He called attention to this subject is proof positive that the world needs the warning uttered by Him.

In complying with the request of the editor of the —— for a brief article, I do not know that I can do better than to suggest a few ways in which a soul can be bartered away and then point out the relative insignificance of the things sought in exchange for it.

Will a man put a price upon his soul? Probably not, if the proposition is presented to him bluntly, and yet many who would be indignant at the question if clearly stated do actually enter into negotiations, although sometimes they are scarcely aware of the nature of the trade.

Tolstoy says that the crime begins not when the murderer takes the life of his victim but far back when he decides to ignore the promptings of his conscience and to follow his selfish impulses—the final act being but a natural result of his earlier determination. And so it may be said that a man puts a price on his soul when he deliberately prefers anything else to its highest welfare.

Among the things that have been weighed in the balance against the soul may be mentioned money, social position and political power. Money deserves the first place because it not only tempts more people but because it is often used to purchase both social and political prominence. So ruinous is greed that "love of money" has been described as "the root of all evil." Certain it is that love of money has in a multitude of cases silenced conscience, and never seemingly more than now.

Mr. Rockefeller is at present the target of the paragraphers and he is probably the most conspicuous example furnished by this generation of the man who habitually stifles his conscience until it becomes too "seared" to be of service to him. He doubtless regards himself as a pious man; in fact, he is quite punctilious in attending upon the ordinary means of grace, and yet his life-record shows extraordinary moral obliquity. He has so long accustomed himself to putting money-making above ethical considerations that he can bankrupt a competitor through the rebate system, bribe a college with a donation or evade a court summons with equal complacency. But Mr. Rockefeller is not alone in the use of indefensible business methods. He enjoys an odious pre-eminence, but he has many would-be rivals. Whenever a business man is

caught in wrong-doing, he is quick to reply: "They all do it." While this indictment is too sweeping to be just, it must be admitted that there is entirely too much truth in the charge.

Misrepresentation of wares, the adulteration of foods, the palming off of "just as good" substitutes—these are the petty devices of trade. Then come the watering of stock, the underselling of articles in one territory while the price is maintained or raised elsewhere, the manipulation of the market, etc., etc. Besides these, there are railroad discriminations, excessive rates, franchise-grabbing, etc. This business dishonesty is not confined to the ignorant. Professor James, of Harvard college, recently declared: "There is not a public abuse on the whole eastern coast which does not receive the enthusiastic approval of some Harvard graduate." The men who engage in dishonest practices in business have at some point in their lives considered the matter, and, putting their conscientious scruples aside, have chosen to make the getting of money their chief aim.

The lawyer has the same temptations to meet; he has frequent occasions to decide between his conscience and his purse. When the citizens' committee of Philadelphia was looking for a lawyer to represent the people in their fight against the gas company, it found that all the prominent attorneys of the city were retained by that company. These attorneys knew that they were selling themselves to a corporation which was not only robbing the city but corrupting the city's representatives. Where were their consciences? And this is not an isolated case. President Roosevelt in a recent speech pointed out that in every city able lawyers are found who spend their time preparing schemes for the plundering of the public. And each one of these lawyers at some time in his life decided to substitute the love of money for the law of conscience. If the lawyers of the United States would refuse to prostitute their brains to the service of predatory wealth, it would not be long before exploitation would cease.

Besides those who make a business of furnishing legal assistance regardless of moral considerations, there is another group of lawyers to which those belong who act as lobbyists for corporate interests. At every state capi-

tal there will be found lawyers of greater or less prominence who look after the distribution of funds or favors, intended to corruptly influence the legislators. At Washington there is an unusual number of these, some of them adding the distinction of former public service to legal qualifications.

Editors and publishers are also to be found in abundance, who, for pecuniary considerations, make their papers the champions of those who will pay for the service. Sometimes the editorial page is put at the disposal of the corporations; sometimes only the news and advertising columns are sold. The promoters of a public steal often use the stock of their corporation to bribe the newspapers. In nearly every large city there are newspapers which are paid to fight municipal ownership and to excuse and justify the practices of the public franchise corporations. Sometimes in a contest between these franchise owners and the public nearly every important daily is subsidized, and yet the people have often triumphed in spite of the influence of these papers. But what shall we say of the code of journalistic ethics that will tolerate this sale of a paper's influence? Even the advertising patronage has been known to influence the editorial policy of a paper. It is not a rare thing for an editor to refuse to publish a fact that he knows to be true, where the publication may array against him an influential business interest.

College presidents and professors have sometimes been led to make their instructions harmonize with the views of those from whom they expect, or have accepted, endowments; and ministers have at times kept silent upon moral questions rather than jeopardize the contributions made by worldly-minded pew-holders. If the city ministers condemned gambling upon the stock exchange and in the grain pit as strenuously as they condemn the smaller and less injurious forms of gambling it would not take long to put an end to the speculation which victimizes traders, ruins banks and drives so many to suicide.

The desire to secure social distinction has led a multitude of men and women to disregard their higher interests in order to conform to customs sanctioned by the exclusive set. If the teachings of Christ can be accepted as a

rule of conduct—and what Christian can deny that they are the only rule—how can the Christian justify a lavish expenditure on fashionable dress and extravagant entertainments when the money is sorely needed to help the poor, the sick and the distressed. There is no more stony ground upon which the words of truth can fall than that furnished by the heart of one who makes social distinction the aim of life. All of the pure and tender emotions are stifled by the selfishness of a life devoted to personal display and social success.

It is not necessary to elaborate the methods employed by those who put political preferment above the interests of the soul. In times past, monarchs have not hesitated to take the life of any possible heir to the throne, and ambitious generals have marched to military eminence through the blood of thousands. Even today we witness the ruthless slaughter of Russian peasants whose offense is that they claim a voice in the government under which they live. In republics, and in constitutional monarchies where legislative assemblies exist, we find two forms of surender to evil; one is the corrupt use of money in elections, and the other is the advocacy of things supposed to be popular which the conscience does not approve.

Corruption, while disgracefully common in every part of the country, is almost universally condemned, and, therefore, needs no special attention here. Not so much has been said, however, about the practice of making one's views conform to the views of others for the purpose of securing political advancement. There are innumerable instances where men have changed their views upon a public question in order to remain in public life or where they have changed their views in going from one locality to another. The man who to promote his ambition advocates what he does not conscientiously believe to be right stands upon the same plane with the business man who violates his conscience for trade advantage and is a fit companion for the lawyer who sells his intellect to the highest bidder. And no better is the business man who advocates whatever policy of government he thinks will bring the largest returns in his business, regardless of the moral principles involved in the policy.

But enough has been said to show that in every department of life one is constantly tempted to put selfish considerations above that which appeals to his better nature, and what reward does he secure? It is easier to discuss this question with the old than with the young, for those who are advanced in years are prepared to say with Solomon, that "all is vanity and vexation of spirit." Neither wealth nor social distinction nor yet political power can bring peace to the human heart or satisfy the aspiration of man's soul. The conscience "void of offense toward God and man" is the one possession which is above value, and, no matter by what route one seeks to escape from his conscience, he is doomed to disappointment at last. The asking of a question is a familiar form of argument, and no one ever used this form of argument with more effect than Christ. Of all the questions propounded by Him no question goes more unerringly to the heart than this supreme one: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" W. J. BRYAN.

THE JEFFERSON CLUB BANQUET

The Jefferson club of Chicago gave a farewell banquet to Mr. Bryan on the evening of September 12. Hon. William Prentiss acted as toastmaster. Mayor Dunne, Congressman Ollie M. James of Kentucky, Congressman Henry T. Rainey of Illinois, and Judge James B. Tarvin of Kentucky responded to toasts. Mr. Bryan's subject was "Democracy vs. Centralization." Extracts from his speech follow:

The partial adoption by some of the republican leaders of remedies proposed by the democratic party makes it opportune to draw a distinction between the fundamental principles of democracy and the principles of those who view subjects of government from a different standpoint. There are two forces constantly at work in every nation, one force tending to bring the government nearer to the people and the other tending to carry the government away from the people. To go a little farther back we may start with the proposition that there are but two theories of government—one that a government is a thing created

by the people for themselves—this is the theory which is embodied in our Declaration of Independence, which declares that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The opposite theory is that governments are imposed by the few upon the many—such governments resting on force. Few, if any, governments now known entirely exemplify either theory—nearly all, if not all, of them representing a compromise between the two theories, but in every government there is a tendency either in one direction or the other. If we may represent self-government as the day and arbitrary and irresponsible government as the night, then most governments would represent the twilight. The twilight that precedes the dawn gradually brightens into day. The twilight that precedes the night ends in darkness. It is very important, therefore, that the tendency of a government shall be toward the light. In using the twilight I recognize that it is not a perfect illustration because the dawn always grows brighter while the shades of night always grow darker. Possibly it would be more accurate to describe the contest between democracy and centralization, as like a game of football, in which the government may be carried this way or that way according as it is in the hands of one side or the other, the ultimate goals being at opposite ends of the field. In monarchies the fight for self-government is often made for some particular reform, without avowing the final purpose and without discussing fundamental principles, and so in republics those who attempt to restrict the power of the people, often, if not always, make their fight under some mask. In this country opposition to the rule of the people usually takes the form of the advocacy of legislation which removes authority from a point near to the people to some point more remote from them. This tendency to remove authority from the locality to a center farther away may be described as centralization. If the principles upon which self-government rests are sound, then the people can best govern where they are best acquainted with the machinery of the government and with the propositions upon which they are to act. Every attempt to take authority away from the community and vest it in some power outside of the community contains a certain amount of infidelity to

the democratic theory of government. Usually there is some partisan reason which furnishes the justification, but no partisan reason can remove a fundamental objection. In some states the police control of the larger cities is taken out of the hands of the people living in those cities and deposited with the governor of the state. No matter on what theory this is done it is not consistent with confidence in the capacity of the people for self-government, and it is certain to be used as a precedent for a further weakening of the power of the people to control their own affairs.

Just now public attention is being directed to the encroachments of great corporations upon the rights of the people and the discussion of remedies reveals the fact that among those who really desire to effectively restrain corporations there are two distinct classes—those who desire to enlarge the scope of the federal government and those who desire to preserve the integrity and authority of the several states. I invite your attention to this subject because it is likely to be the rock upon which honest reformers will split unless there is a clear understanding of the situation. The Jeffersonian democrat would not take from the federal government any power necessary to the performance of its legitimate duties, but he recognizes that the consolidation of all the government at Washington would be a menace to the safety of the nation and would endanger the perpetuity of the republic. He believes in the preservation of the power of both state and federal governments, recognizing in the constitutional division of those powers the strength of free government. The advocate of centralization is always optimistic when the dangers of centralization are pointed out. He is not afraid that any harm can come to the American people, and yet no enthusiastic advocate of centralization can talk long without betraying his distrust of the people. Instead of accepting the theory that the people should think for themselves and then select representatives to carry out these thoughts, he believes that representatives are selected to think for the people and he does not hesitate to build barriers between the government and the voters. While the advocate of centralization is urging legislation which obliterates state lines and removes the government

from the control of the voters, the monopolist may on the other hand hide behind the democratic theory of self-government and use this theory to prevent national legislation which may be necessary. The democrat who believes in democratic principles and who wants to preserve the dual character of our government must be on his guard against both.

There are certain things which the locality can do for itself, and there are certain things which only the federal government can do—neither the federal government nor the local government should be sacrificed to the other.

The investigation of the large life insurance companies has led to the discussion of national remedies and the advocates of centralization are likely to seize upon this agitation as an excuse for legislation which will take the business of life insurance out of the hands of the various states. The democrats should draw a distinction between federal legislation which is supplemental to state legislation and that form of federal legislation which would substitute a national for a state remedy. No national charter should be granted to an insurance company and no federal supervision should interfere with the exercise of the power now vested in the states to supervise companies doing business in such states.

So in devising a remedy for the trusts, the democratic party should resolutely oppose any and every attempt to authorize a national incorporation or chartering trading or manufacturing enterprises. Congress has control over interstate commerce and it is the only body that can deal effectively and efficiently with interstate commerce, but to control interstate commerce it is not necessary that it should create corporations or over-ride state laws. The democratic national platform of 1900 proposed a national remedy for the trusts entirely consistent with the preservation of state remedies. It suggested a license system—the license to permit a corporation to do business outside of the state of its origin upon compliance with the conditions of the license, but the license would not permit it to do business in any other state except upon compliance with the conditions provided by the state. In other words, it would be such a license as is now granted for the sale of liquor. When a federal license is issued for the sale

of liquor, it does not carry with it any immunity from the laws of the state in which the licensee lives. The same reasoning should be applied to the insurance question and to all other questions which involve remedial legislation.

No advocate of centralization should be permitted to impair the power of the various states over business done within their borders under the pretense that it is necessary to transfer the power to the national capital, and no democrat should oppose necessary legislation when the powers of the several states are properly safeguarded. It is possible to preserve in full force the power of both the federal government and the state government. It is only necessary that the legitimate functions of the two governments shall be clearly recognized and their spheres duly respected. I have mentioned only the question of insurance and the trust question, but there are many subjects which involve the issue between democracy and centralization.

It is natural that the democratic party should advocate the election of senators by a direct vote of the people, for this reform would remove a barrier erected between the people and their representatives in the senate. This provision of the constitution was a compromise between those who trusted the people and those who still doubted the capacity of the people for self-government. There is no longer reason for doubt, and experiences show that the United States senate has become the bulwark of corporate interests. It can not be brought into sympathetic touch with the people until the method of election is so changed as to make the members of the senate responsible directly to the people.

The initiative and the referendum are growing in popular favor because they increase the control of the people over their own affairs and make the government more responsive to the popular will.

It should be the purpose and constant effort of the democratic party to bring the government into harmony with those who live under it and to make it reflect more and more their intelligence, virtue and patriotism. In proportion as the democratic party trusts the people and protects them it will win the confidence and support of the

people and no one can doubt the final triumph of such a party without doubting the correctness and growth of the principles of free government.

DESTROYING THE SILVER DOLLAR

A Washington dispatch says that the suspension of gold and silver coinage at the mint is occasioned by the fact that the stock of silver bullion is entirely exhausted. It suggests that a scarcity of small coin may warrant the recoining of silver dollars into subsidiary coin. The question whether the government will add to the supply of subsidiary coin by the purchase of more silver bullion or by the recoinage of silver dollars has not yet been settled. In fact, the republican leaders seem to be afraid to reopen the silver question. If the policy of recoinage is adopted, it is only a question of time when the full legal tender silver will be converted into subsidiary coin and each dollar so recoined will reduce the standard money of the country. Will the republicans attempt this stealthy reduction of the volume of standard money?

EMINENTLY CONSERVATIVE

Nothing is so serious but that it is made the subject of a joke. The controversy between Governor Cummins and Secretary Shaw is so far-reaching that timid republicans are expressing the fear that it may hurt them both. A Minnesota story is being modelled to fit the Iowa situation. A cautious son of Sweden was approached by an inquiring politician and the following dialogue took place:

Politician—"What do you think of Governor Cummins?"

Swede—"He pretty smart man."

Politician—"And what do you think of Secretary Shaw?"

Swede—"He pretty smart man too."

Politician—"Which do you think has the best show?"

Swede—"Oh, Ringling Bros., they have the best show."

A LOW MORAL STANDARD

The *Outlook* editor is either setting up a very low standard of morals, or he is loaning his editorial columns to some one who lacks moral perception. In the issue of August 19 there is an editorial excusing rebates. A reader of the *Outlook* asks whether Mr. Morton and men in his position are justified in giving rebates. The editor (or the user of the editorial page) says:

> "The object of a railroad president ought not to be to make money for either himself or his stockholders; it ought to be to serve the community. To do this he must make the railroad pay, but paying is the means, the service of the public is the end. If he can not carry on the railroad, can not continue to administer it as a highway, can not get the money necessary to carry freight and passengers, without meeting the rebates of his competitors by giving rebates himself, it may be legitimate to do so. Whether it is legitimate or not depends upon circumstances; and one of those circumstances, and perhaps the most important, is the true answer to this question: Is the granting of rebates necessary to the continued successful administration of the road?
>
> "This is not saying that 'the end justifies the means.' It is not saying that we may employ any means to accomplish a righteous end. It is saying that the question, 'what means may rightfully be employed to accomplish a rightful end?' is one on which compromise is often necessary and legitimate, while on the question, 'what is a rightful end?' compromise is generally, if not always, illegitimate."

One would hardly expect to find such a defense of lawlessness in the *Outlook.*

What a pitiful apology for a religious paper to present! Suppose a man in business finds it necessary to cheat in order to keep up with his competitors, may it therefore be legitimate to cheat? Suppose a man finds it necessary to steal or to kill in order to meet his competitors, may it be legitimate for him to steal and kill? Expediency is en-

tirely destructive of moral law and the *Outlook* will find it impossible to lay down any code of ethics if it begins by excusing rebates when they are necessary to meet competition. The rebate is unlawful. How will the *Outlook* discriminate between different criminal laws? But if there were no statute against rebates, they are contrary to morals. A railroad can bankrupt individuals and communities by the use of the rebate, can the necessities of competition purge the act of its wrongfulness? If a railroads finds that its competitor is doing wrong instead of imitating the competitor it ought to help to punish the competitor. A corporation that believes it is legitimate to follow a bad example will soon think it proper to set the bad example and leave the competitor to follow..

If the editor of the *Outlook* will read his Bible again he will find that it furnishes no authority that can be used to justifiy rebates. Nothing more clearly shows the demoralizing influence of predatory wealth than the fact that a high class paper like the *Outlook* can be led into such a justification of rebates as it presents. No secular paper could wander farther from the Christian ideal.

STAND BY THE PEOPLE

(An Open Letter to President Roosevelt.)

To President Roosevelt: Permit a parting word. You have the contest of your life before you and I desire to render you all the assistance in my power. You have asked congress to enact a law so enlarging the powers of the interstate commerce commission as to permit it to fix and enforce a reasonable freight rate, and the railroad lobby was strong enough to stop in the senate the bill passed by the house. The railroad magnates expect to block the passage of the bill again. The National City Bank of New York has advised its patrons that no rate legislation is probable; the railroads have been at work all summer circulating literature against railroad regulation, and the senate contains a number of members so intimately connected with railroad interests that they can not be expected to take the people's side. The railroads will try to persuade you; if they fail in this they will try

to scare you; if they fail in this also they will try to defeat your recommendation. It will embarrass you to have strong party leaders against you; you may even be embarrassed by having so many democrats co-operating with you, but you must reconcile yourself to both. In this fight your strength lies in the fact that you have a large majority of the voters of all parties with you.

Pass over the railroad representatives and appeal to the people. Compel the opponents of railroad legislation to meet the issue in the open. There is no logical or even plausible argument against the legislation which you recommend. A railroad corporation is a creature of law; it has no rights except those conferred upon it by the people. It is inconceivable that the people should create a corporation without reserving the right to so control it as to make it subserve the public interest. The right of the people, acting through organized government, to control according to their own pleasure every corporation created by them must be conceded and the necessity for the exercise of that control is clearly demonstrated. Extortion in rates, unfairness, discrimination against persons, discrimination against places, midnight tariffs and rebates galore—all of these iniquities have resulted from lack of regulation. They are intolerable and must be stopped. Will you use the great influence of your high office to secure the regulation now, or will you leave the honor to a successor?

They will tell you that effective rate legislation will disturb the harmony of your party. You can answer that a refusal to respond to the just demands of the public means not harmony but political death.

The democrats, if they had no higher purpose than to secure control of the offices, might wish you to lead the railroad element of your party, but they are citizens first and democrats afterward. They are more interested in securing needed reforms than they are in securing credit for the reforms. If, as I think probable, it is found necessary to change the method of electing senators before that body is brought into sympathy with the masses you will find enthusiastic support in the advocacy of this reform. Four times the house of representatives has by an almost

unanimous vote declared in favor of the election of senators by direct vote, twice when the house was democratic and twice when it was republican.

If in your fight you deem it wise to attack the trusts you will find that they have few friends—none worth cultivating. If you are willing to help reduce the tariff where it shelters a trust you will find the democrats ready to aid you, and with them an increasing number of republicans. If, encouraged by the success of your efforts in the anthracite coal strike, you decide to urge the establishment of a permanent board for the arbitration of differences between labor and capital, you will find a growing force behind you.

Stand by your guns! You have developed a reform element in the republican party; you must lead it or suffer the humiliation of seeing the leadership pass to someone else.

Your words have excited great expectations which must be met, for you will be measured by your own words. The Commoner commended your message of last December and will lend you any influence it may have so long as you advocate reforms. Go forward, you owe it to yourself, you owe it to your party and, more than all, you owe it to your country.

TELL THEM TO PUT IT BACK!

The disclosures made before the New York legislative committee has directed attention to the evils of contributions to political campaign funds by great corporations. In the case of these insurance companies the money contributed properly belonged to the policyholders, and while many of these policyholders were working in behalf of the democratic ticket they were contributing in the form of insurance premiums to the success of the party which they hoped to defeat.

In such cases a wrong is perpetrated upon the policyholders, but in those cases, as in all other cases where corporations contribute to political funds, the offense is against popular government. While no attempt on the part of republican leaders has been seriously made to deny that these great corporations contributed to repub-

lican campaign funds, it has been suggested that the contributions were given without any promise, expressed or implied. Of course such a defense is merely a subterfuge. Everybody knows that the corporations do not contribute money except for "business" purposes, and when a corporation contributes money as a matter of "business" it means that it is either paying for some favor already received or purchasing a favor for future delivery.

It has been shown that the New York Life Insurance Company contributed somewhere in the neighborhood of $50,000 to the republican campaign fund in each of the last three national campaigns. It is safe to say that every other great insurance company made similar contributions. Because his party was the beneficiary of these funds, President Roosevelt should be quick to act upon the suggestion provided in disclosures made before the New York legislative committee.

President Roosevelt would do well to suggest to the republican national committee the advisability of returning the money paid by these insurance companies, for the use and benefit of the policyholders to whom it belongs.

It would be gratifying to the American people generally if the president in his forthcoming message would present a measure for the purification of politics. One of the best methods in this work of purification is to begin with the campaign fund. In some of the states congressmen are compelled to file a signed and itemized account of their campaign expenditures, but this should be made a national requirement, and the law should be so stringent as to require the filing of the statement whether the money was spent by the candidate himself, by the officers of his committee or by any one else with his knowledge or the knowledge of the committee. The law ought also to apply to the election of senators, for senatorial contests have sometimes involved the spending of enormous sums. And it is even more necessary that the law should apply to presidential contests. The president has a veto power, which, in addition to the influence that his office naturally exerts and in addition to the interest exerted through patronage, enables him to block the passage of a measure until two-thirds of both houses support it. It is a well known fact that the great cor-

porate interests rely upon the senate to protect them from hostile legislation. It has now been proved, as it has long been suspected, that they have contributed large sums to influence presidential elections.

Votes can not be bought unless there is money with which to buy them, and money will not be subscribed to buy votes if it must be subscribed in the open and the corporation's interest in the result be known to the public. What argument can be made against the publication in advance of the election of the money subscribed for the campaign? What right has a party which appeals to the public to conceal from the public the purpose of its victory? And how can the purpose of a victory be better determined than by an examination of the campaign contributions? Does any one doubt that the publication of the large contributions made in 1896, 1900 or 1904 would have had an influence upon the result of the election? Not only ought the larger contributions be made public before the election for the information of the public, but it would be well to require a publication of the principal expenditures of the committees.

The use of enormous campaign funds collected from the trusts and great insurance companies can not be continued without danger to the country. Is it not time to put a stop to it? If the president will take cognizance of this important subject in his forthcoming message he will win the approbation of the men of all political parties who have grown weary of corporate domination in political affairs. If the president does not act the democrats in congress should frame such a measure and secure its passage or put upon the republicans the responsibility of defeating it.

"WAY TOO HIGH"

The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, a republican newspaper, says: "Mr. Bryan has written an article on 'The Value of the Human Soul' without suggesting that, on account of some chronological crime, the quotation should be marked down to 49 cents on the dollar."

It must be plain, even to the *Globe-Democrat*, that 49 cents on the dollar is altogether too high a quotation on

"the value of the human soul," as estimated by some of the eminent "defenders of national honor," who have given testimony before the insurance committee at New York. Yet during recent presidential campaigns the *Globe-Democrat* assured its readers that these men were patriots, and governed by their hostility to immorality in every form and their disinterested devotion to good government.

CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE

Referring to the testimony of Vice-President Perkins of the New York Life Insurance Company in the investigation now in progress, the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* says:

> "The testimony of George W. Perkins, first vice-president of the New York Life Insurance Company, that that company contributed $48,000 to the republican campaign fund in 1904, and that it also made contributions in 1896 and 1900, shows in a striking way the discredit into which the democratic party has fallen among the business interests of the country."

Then, with charming disregard for the exposures of chicanery and corruption in the management of the big life insurance companies the *Globe-Democrat* says:

> "McCall knew that the triumph of Bryan and debased silver would mean a cut in half in the value of the funds of the policyholders of his corporation. Every dollar of assets in the company would be reduced to 50 cents or less if the democrats had carried the country."

The *Globe-Democrat* is one of those newspapers that asked the people to believe that free silver coinage would make the mine owner's silver worth $1.29 an ounce, but would make the silver dollar worth only 50 cents. Naturally enough such a paper will insist that the men who have been guilty of riotous squandering of trust funds

in gambling speculations and worse were impelled by motives of honesty and wonderful regard for the property interests of their clients when they wrongfully contributed money that did not belong to them to the republican campaign fund in 1896.

Then the *Globe-Democrat* makes this very remarkable statement:

> "No reputable democrat charges that this or any other campaign contributions was put to corrupt use by the republicans."

Not only have reputable democrats made that charge, but reputable republicans as well. And republicans who have not charged it have admitted it. And that these and other contributions were put to corrupt use by the republican managers in 1896 is so apparent that only a hidebound organ like the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* would have the hardihood to deny it. If Thomas W. Lawson's story of the "$5,000,000 hurry up call" the closing week of the republican campaign in 1896 is untrue, why has not Mr. Lawson been proceeded against for criminal libel by the men whom he openly charged with this gigantic scheme of political corruption?

The admission of Perkins and McCall merely give corroborative evidence to prove what not only reputable democrats but reputable republicans have charged—that money was used corruptly by the republican committee in 1896, and that the money was contributed by just such self-constituted defenders of "national honor" and "honest money" as Perkins and McCall.

THE LINE IS PLAINLY MARKED

The managers of the railroad literary bureau and others who protest against railroad regulation advance the same arguments against which the eminent lawyer, Jeremiah S. Black, contended in a speech delivered in 1883. Mr. Black dealt with "the duties of corporations as public servants," and we are told by one authority "it is doubtful if any other speech on a technical question of law and industrial economy ever produced effects so profound and far-reaching."

Note the similarity between the arguments of the railroad literary bureau of today, and the contention of the railroad magnates of Mr. Black's time. Referring to these railroad claims, Mr. Black said:

> "They assert that the management of the railroads, being a mere speculation of their own, these thoroughfares of trade and travel must be run for their interests, without regard to public right. If they take advantage of their power to oppress the labor and overtax the land of the state; if they crush the industry of one man or place to build up the prosperity of another; if they plunder the rich by extortion, or deepen the distress of the poor by discriminating against them, they justify themselves by showing that all this was in the way of business; that their interest required them to do it; that if they had done otherwise their fortunes would not have been so great as they are; that it was the prudent, proper, and successful method of managing their own affairs. This is their universal answer to all complaints. Their protests against legislative intervention to protect the public always takes this shape, with more or less distinctness of outline."

May we not, referring to these same claims, use the language employed by Jeremiah Black when in that same speech he said: "In whatever language they clothe their argument, it is the same in substance as that with which Demetrius, the silversmith, defended the sanctity of the temple for which he made statues: 'Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth.'"

It would be difficult to make better answer to these claims than that given by Mr. Black himself, and it would be well if every American citizen could read Mr. Black's speech in full.

Mr. Black laid down the doctrine that "the management of the railroads is not a matter of business to be conducted like private enterprises, merely for the profit of the directors or stockholders." He cited an opinion rendered by the supreme court of Pennsylvania, where it was determined that a railroad is a public highway and

in no sense private property, and that "the corporation authorized to operate it is a servant of the state, much as an officer legally appointed to do any other public duty; as strictly confined by the laws and as liable to be removed for transgressing them;" and he said that no judge "whose authority is worth a straw" ever denied the doctrine for which he contended, the United States supreme court having affirmed it in scores of cases.

Because of the vast magnitude of the affairs intrusted to the railroad magnates, and the terrible temptation to which their cupidity is exposed, Mr. Black said that it was necessary that the people "hold them to their responsibilities, and hold them hard." He averred that a corporation intrusted to do a public duty must perform it with an eye single to the public interest, and that partiality or extortion should no more be tolerated on the part of the railroad official than when practiced by any other public servant.

> "The people," said Mr. Black, "have rights of property as well as the corporations and ours are—or ought to be—as sacred as theirs. Between the great domain which we have ceded to them and that which still belongs to us, the line is plainly and distinctly marked, and if they cross it for purposes of plunder they should be driven back under the lash of the law."

Mr. Black showed that it is the duty of the state to open thoroughfares of trade and travel through her territory; that for that purpose she may take the property of citizens and pay for the work out of her own treasury; that she may make that thoroughfare free to all comers or reimburse the cost by levying a special tax upon those who use it; that she may authorize the road to be built by a corporation or an individual and pay for it by permitting the builder to collect tolls; that she may empower a natural or artifical person to do this work, but that "in all cases the proprietary right remains in the state, and is held by her in trust for the use of the people."

Mr. Black said that the railroad corporation is charged with the duty to see that "every needed facility shall be furnished to all citizens, like the justice promised in Magna Charta, without sale, denial or delay." And because such services, if faithfully performed, are important and valuable, the corporation is authorized to pay itself by leving upon all who use the road a tax, or toll, or freight sufficient for a fair compensation. He added: "But this tax must be reasonable, fixed, certain and uniform, otherwise it is a fraud upon the people which no department of the state government, nor all of them combined, has power to legalize."

Mr. Black described the contempt shown by the railroad monopolist in his day just as it is shown today. He said that the corporation influence in official circles is "mysterious and incalculable," and that upon the subject of a popular demand for the enforcement of law "the press is shy" and the politicans are eager to take a smoother road than that which leads to conflict with corporation chiefs.

Referring to railroad impositions, he said: "They have destroyed the business of hundreds for one that they have favored; for every millionaire they have made ten thousand paupers." He pleaded for the enforcement of existing laws and the enactment of new ones that would provide adequate protection to the public, saying that every one of these railroad magnates "can be trusted to keep clear of acts which may take him to the penitentiary."

Mr. Black concluded that if these men knew that a continuation of impositions upon the public meant imprisonment in jail "they would no more rob a shipper on the railroad than they would rob a bank."

THE FIRST CRIME

Below will be found a statement issued by Edward J. Lewis of Wheaton, Ill., as he entered the state penitentiary to serve a term for forgery. Before his crimes were discovered he was prominent in local society, belonging to several exclusive clubs and was regarded as a rising

young man. After his crookedness was found out he was a fugitive from justice and traveled in several countries. He was finally captured and is one more witness to the fact that "the way of the transgressor is hard." It is a good sign that he desires to make his own sad experience a warning to others—it shows that he is anxious to do something to atone for his misdeeds. What a vast amount of suffering would be avoided if all young men would heed the advice which he gives! He says: "Arriving in Joliet to serve an indeterminate sentence for forgery, I feel it my duty to write a letter and make a statement, hoping thereby to prevent other young men from putting themselves in the same position. When I first sold a mortgage for $400 I thought I could easily repay it by a lucky strike or a commission on a real estate deal. When I found that I could not do this and the person owning the mortgage asked for her money, then I had to sell another and larger mortgage to make good. Afterward I thought this was so easy I could keep up the crime forever. Boys and young men, don't play poker. Don't start when you are young sneaking back of the barn with other small boys and using corn for poker chips. Don't smoke cigarettes. Don't drink your first glass of beer or whiskey. Don't bet on horse races. Be sure your sins will find you out. Boys and young men, if you knew the suffering I have gone through you would shun crimes, untruth and deceit as you would poison. If I am the means of preventing any one reading this from committing the first crime, then I am the happiest convict in Joliet. That's the trouble, boys—the first crime. It leads you on and on until you will surely land where I am. Boys, if you ever have committed a crime confess it to the one you have wronged and don't do it again. If you do you will be sure to come to my end."

ADVICE TO PUBLIC OFFICIALS

The *Omaha* (Nebraska) *Bee*, a republican newspaper, referring to Mr. Bryan's open letter to President Roosevelt says: "Admitting his good intentions, is it not a little presumptuous for Colonel Bryan to offer advice continually to Mr. Roosevelt on the subject of running the government?"

The special interests have had under the Roosevelt administration—as under all administrations—representatives who were in position to offer advice. No one knows better than the editor of the *Omaha Bee* that the counsel reaching the president from these inner circles is frequently sugar-coated, and that a man isolated as the president of the United States is can not always determine either upon the wisdom or the disinterestedness of such counsel.

A public official will be best helped by advice publicly given. Not that all advice, even though given in a public way, is the best advice—but given as it is it becomes subject to criticism and the public officer to whom such advice has been offered has the advantage of weighing the original opinion with the criticism.

But special interests "doth so hedge a king" that it is not at all strange that public officials, depending upon the counsel of their intimate, and all too often particularly interested, associates, mistake partisan suggestion for patriotic advice.

If it were true that in his open letter to the president Mr. Bryan gave any advice not in keeping with public interests, then he would be open to criticism. But in our form of government public interests are best secured when the humblest citizen in the land feels free to offer suggestion, even to the highest public servant.

"Admitting Mr. Bryan's good intentions," the *Bee,* as a newspaper published in a republic, has estopped itself from all criticism of Mr. Bryan's suggestion to the president of the United States, at a critical period in our history, that the best service he can render to his country —or to his party—would be by rigid adherence to the declared policy of requiring the railroads to do justice to the people.

If it should be established that counsel offered, even to the president of the United States—counsel whose wisdom and patriotism may not be successfully assailed—is to be regarded as presumptuous when given by a citizen of the republic, then the men who at one moment contribute other people's money to republican campaign funds, only in the next moment to profess their devotion to high ideals, would very soon run away with the government.

Incidentally, The Commoner does not mind saying that no one understands these truths better than the editor of the *Omaha Bee,* a man who has on many occasions found it necessary to give "presumptuous" advice to the leaders of his own party whom he has suspected of a disposition to pull the corporation chestnuts out of the fire.

GIVE THE PEOPLE RELIEF

In an editorial entitled "Bryan and the President," the *Wall Street Journal* says:

> "Admitting that the president has adopted a Bryan idea, that is by no means a new thing in politics. The conservative party in England has repeatedly adopted policies first advocated by the liberals. Besides, the policy of government rate regulation is older than Mr. Bryan. He can not lay claim to having invented it. It is a policy that has sprung up naturally out of the needs and desires of the people."

The people are not greatly concerned whether one man or another has advocated a desirable plan. They want relief from imposition. President Roosevelt has promised to give them that relief along the lines which, as it happens, were laid down in three successive democratic national platforms, and which, as it happens, democrats generally have for many years earnestly advocated.

It is a good sign that in the proposition to enlarge the powers of the interstate commerce commission, giving that body authority to regulate railroad rates, Mr. Roosevelt finds his strongest supporters among democrats.

Republicans having no axes to grind but desiring that policies shall be adopted which will result in the greatest good to the greatest number do not, and will not, raise the criticism that the president has adopted a democratic measure. That plea is made by representatives of special interests, and it is made for the purpose of arousing the partisanship of republicans in the hope that the president will be discouraged by finding that he does not have the support of the members of his own party.

It is natural that democrats should be gratified when the foremost man in the opposition party, in an effort to give the people relief, has adopted democratic policies. It is natural that democrats generally should express gratification that long ago they adopted the plan now championed by a president elected as a republican.

But if President Roosevelt puts this plan into execution, if he shows himself strong enough to withstand the powerful influences which, according to former Senator Chandler, are now being vigorously used in the president's confidential circles, democrats and republicans and men of all parties, will cheerfully give to Mr. Roosevelt the great credit to which he will be entitled.

In the meantime democrats everywhere must extend to the president all the encouragement they are capable of giving, and the least that men of his own party can do is to support him with equal vigor.

WORSE THAN CORRUPTION

Describing what he conceived to be the faults of the people of the United States, Bryce, the historian, charged us with "a want of dignity and elevation in and about conduct of public affairs, an insensibility to the nobler aspects and finer responsibilities of national life." And Lecky, another very frank critic, said: "There is, however, one thing which is worse than corruption. It is acquiescence in corruption. No feature of American life strikes a stranger so powerfully as the extraordinary indifference, partly cynicism and partly good-nature, with which notorious frauds and notorious corruption in the sphere of politics are viewed by American public opinion."

However disinclined we may be to acknowledge these criticisms as entirely deserved, we can not deny that we are at times prone to indifference as to the character of our public servants and the methods they employ in the administration of public affairs.

In most instances the charges against the several senators and congressmen who have been indicted have been sufficient to compel their retirement from the commercial

concerns with which they were connected; yet it does not seem to have occurred to them that they should return their official commissions to the people. Nor has any considerable demand for their resignations been made. Some will undertake to explain this on the theory that the people have become quite accustomed to short-comings on the part of public officials, and others may explain it on the theory that, however guilty of the things charged against them the Burtons, the Depews and the Mitchells may have been, their offenses were small compared with the offenses of many other men who yet hold their heads high in society and wield undisputed sway in the councils of government. For instance, the Burtons and Mitchells were charged with having appeared before departments of government as the representatives of private interests. But do we not remember that several of the most powerful United States senators have been publicly and repeatedly charged with representing, on the floor of the senate, great corporations? Men who appear to be shocked at the disclosures concerning Chauncey M. Depew seemed not at all disturbed when the Vanderbilt railroad interests bought for Depew a senatorship. Nor have men seemed seriously to be disturbed when in other states great corporations have invaded the legislature and controlled the action of that body in the selection of United States senators or in the enactment of laws.

It is true that in every instance where exposures of actual bribery have been made the people have become aroused and have given encouragement to those public officials who undertook to punish the wrong-doers, but is it not strange that the people in every state do not more carefully investigate the conditions in their own community, and before it is too late hold their public servants strictly to account, and keep in check the special interests whose representatives would corrupt officials and plunder the public? Men are all too apt to insist upon the strict enforcement of the law against petty criminals such as Burton and Mitchell have shown themselves to be, while ignoring the conduct of men who do wrong on a much larger scale. It is quite a habit of some men, at a time when public interest has been greatly stirred, to make a great to-do over comparatively insignificant

wrongs in order to win a reputation and to enable them to conceal the greater wrongs in which they have a deep and perhaps a personal interest. And while we hear a great deal concerning the short-comings of some individual officeholders, no considerable attention is being paid to the greater wrongs committed in the name of the republican party—policies that threaten the fact of popular government as they, in truth, deny the correctness of that form of government.

It is noticeable, also, that although insurance company chiefs have confessed to many instances of wrong-doing there is not that determined, persistent demand for the punishment of these wrong-doers which one would have the right to expect under the circumstances.

Do not the American people owe it to themselves to so insist upon the enforcement of law and the maintenance of morals that they will avoid even the suspicion of that acquiescence which Lecky said is the one thing worse than corruption.

A MONSTROUS DOCTRINE

Referring to contributions to campaign funds, the *Chicago Chronicle* says: "They are good or bad, according to the motive with which they are given and the use to which they are put." And then referring particularly to insurance contributions to the republican campaign fund, the *Chronicle* adds: "The money used to defeat William J. Bryan and the democratic party was obviously put to good use."

Then, we presume, it is of no importance that these particular contributions were stolen from the policyholders. A great many desperate efforts have been made to support "the end justifies the means" doctrine; but newspapers of character are not as a rule bold enough to support that doctrine as bluntly as the *Chicago Chronicle* does.

Carried to its logical conclusion the *Chronicle's* doctrine would mean that a Chicago pickpocket could purge himself of sin by contributing a portion of his ill-gotten gains to the Salvation Army; or, to draw a more complete

parallel with the instance under discussion, by expending a portion of his stealings in the effort to secure the appointment of a chief of police who would permit him to continue his bad practices.

McCALL AND HIS "TRUST"

John A. McCall, president of the New York Life Insurance Company, who has confessed to the contribution of large sums of money to the republican campaign fund, explained that in 1896 he made up his mind to do all in his power to defeat the democratic ticket, adding: "I had no idea in my mind about politics at all, but I had a duty and a trust regarding the New York Life policyholders."

Judging from other portions of Mr. McCall's testimony and other revelations concerning the conduct of his insurance company, it would seem that Mr. McCall was not quite so particular "regarding the New York Life policyholders" when it came to the expenditure of enormous sums of the policyholders' money, without the sanction or authority of any one other than John A. McCall.

PROFIT BY EXPERIENCE

A Churchville, New York, reader of The Commoner writes: "If the funds stolen by life insurance companies are 'given back,' can the votes they purchased be 'given back' also? America, American politics and the will of the people are today changed fraudulently by this purchase. Where is the remedy?"

The remedy lies in the people profiting by experience. If as a result of all the crimes and frauds committed in the name of "national honor" the people shall become aroused to their responsibilities; if as a result of these experiences the people insist upon an honest and equitable administration of public affairs; if as a result of these exposures the trusts are destroyed, special privileges are abolished and popular government actually restored, the ends attained will be worth all the sacrifices required.

SNEERING AT MR. BRYAN'S "ADVICE"

That fine old republican newspaper, the *Chicago Tribune,* says: "Mr. Bryan can give more advice and see less of it followed than any man now before the public."

It is not necessarily a reflection upon a man that his advice is not followed; but Mr. Bryan cannot complain on that score just now; and certainly the *Chicago Tribune* is not justified in a boast.

Mr. Bryan has lived to see many of the policies he favored warmly advocated by those who, a few years ago, as warmly opposed them.

Mr. Bryan has advised the election of senators by the people, and today men of all parties are committed to that plan.

He has advised arbitration in the settlement of labor difficulties, and in one notable instance the gentleman elected to the office of president as a republican rendered distinguished service to his countrymen by acting upon that plan.

He has advised that the free pass is a great and growing evil, and today men of all political parties condemn the free pass system.

He has advised that public sentiment set itself rigidly against campaign contributions by corporations, and today that question occupies a conspicuous place in the attention of the American people.

He has advised that the quantitative theory of money is correct; and this, the foundation of all arguments made in behalf of bimetallism, is now conceded by the very men who vigorously condemned it in 1896.

He has urged the enforcement of the criminal clause of the Sherman anti-trust law, and—after many years of waiting—the government's law officers, acting under the president's instructions, caused the arrest and prosecution of the members of the beef trust.

He has urged the enactment of stringent laws providing for publicity in the affairs of corporations, and the president, elected as a republican, has had much to say in advocacy of that method.

He has advised that corporations be required to show clean hands before being permitted to do business outside of the state of their origin, and that before such cor-

porations could engage in interstate business they be required to obtain a federal license. The republican administration is now squarely on record in favor of that plan.

He has urged that tariff laws be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free lists in order to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection; and a considerable number of distinguished republicans are today publicly advocating that plan, while the rank and file of the party, if permitted to speak, would unquestionably give their sanction to it.

He has advised the enlargement of the powers of the interstate commerce commission to the end that individuals and communities might be protected from discriminations and from unjust transportation rates; and today that is the most conspicuous reform for which the president, elected as a republican, stands.

Republican editors tread on dangerous ground when, in the light of present-day happenings, they undertake to call Mr. Bryan to account for the character of "advice" he has given.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S PLAIN TALK AT RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

In a speech delivered at Raleigh, N. C., October 19, Mr. Roosevelt left no room for doubt as to his present-day purpose with respect to the railroad rate question. While making it plain that he does not believe in government ownership, Mr. Roosevelt made it equally plain that he favors such governmental control as will provide protection for the people.

In his Raleigh speech, and referring to the railroad question, Mr. Roosevelt said:

> "It is out of the question for the government not to exercise a supervisory and regulatory right over the railroads; for it is vital to the well-being of the public that they should be managed in a spirit of fairness and justice toward all the public."

"The actual experience has shown that it is not possible to have the railroads uncontrolled. Such a system, or rather lack of system, is fertile in abuses of every kind, and puts a premium upon unscrupulous conduct in railroad management."

"Experience has shown that the present laws are defective and need amendment."

"What we need is to have some administrative body with ample power to forbid combination that is hurtful to the public, and to prevent favoritism to one individual at the expense of another. In other words, we want an administrative body with the power to secure fair treatment as among all shippers who use the railroads—and all shippers have a right to use them. We must not leave the enforcement of such a law merely to the department of justice; it is out of the question for the law department of the government to do what should be purely administrative work. The department of justice is to stand behind and co-operate with the administrative body, but the administrative body itself must be given the power to do the work and then held to a strict accountability for the exercise of that power. The delays of the law are proverbial, and what we need in this matter is reasonable quickness of action."

"The abuses of which we have a genuine right to complain take many shapes. Rebates are not now often given openly. But they can be given just as effectively in covert form; and private cars, terminal tracks and the like must be brought under the control of the commission or administrative body, which is to exercise supervision by the government. But in my judgment the most important thing to do is to give to this administrative body power to make its findings effective, and this can be done only by giving it power, when complaint is made of a given rate as being unjust or unreasonable, if it finds the complaint proper, then itself to fix a maximum rate which it regards as just and reasonable, this rate to go into effect practically at once, and to stay in effect, unless reversed by the courts."

Mr. Roosevelt expressed the hope that congress would provide this power, and he added that he hoped that congress would confer upon the interstate commerce commission the authority to examine into the books and affairs of all railroads whenever there should be "in the minds of the commission any suspicion that a certain railroad is in any shape or way giving rebates or behaving improperly."

He said he wanted the commission to have this power as a matter of right, not as a matter of favor, in order that it might make a full and exhaustive investigation of railroad affairs, so that any violation or evasion of the law may be detected.

Some who are really opposed to effective railroad legislation have, while pretending to favor a reform, suggested the creation of a special court whose duty it would be to deal with all such complaints; and these have urged, too, the desirability of holding the reform rates in abeyance until final adjudication. But Mr. Roosevelt plainly says that he is opposed to the creation of a special federal court and that he is in favor of placing this power with the interstate commerce commission, so that the people may hold to the strictest accountability their agents charged with the performance of this important duty. He says that when the commission has fixed a maximum rate which it regards as just and reasonable, that rate should go in effect practically at once, and stay in effect unless revised by the courts.

This is the plainest talk which the president has made upon this subject, and he will, doubtless, in his message to congress make recommendations in line with his Raleigh speech.

Mr. Roosevelt has faithfully described the lines of battle. Those who favor effective railroad legislation will approve Mr. Roosevelt's plan in this respect. But he will not win the victory easily. He will be required to wage desperate battle with the representatives of special interests, and conspicuous among his foes will be some of the most distinguished leaders of his own party. Every American citizen, regardless of political prejudice, who believes that government should be administered for the

greatest good to the greatest number, owes it to his country to give to the president in this great contest every possible help and encouragement.

A BANKER'S PROTEST

C. M. Brown, president of the First National Bank of Cambridge, Neb., gave to the Nebraska Bankers' Association some valuable advice when he told them that bankers should discharge their duties as good citizens by refusing to stand as the apologists for crimes committed in the name of wealth, and that they should exert with other good citizens their best efforts in applying a remedy for existing evils.

It is true that while many individual bankers have vigorously protested against wrongdoing on the part of trust magnates and "frenzied financiers," the bankers as a class have steadfastly sought to discourage every effort that has been put forward with the view of providing the public with relief from corporate imposition. In political campaigns the bankers have been found wielding their influence in behalf of the ticket specially favored by the corporations, and as the influence of the creditor is always powerful, the banker has played an important part in electing to office the favorite candidates of those great interests whose representatives would prey upon the people.

But it must not be forgotten that this practice has not been entirely accidental; it has not been entirely due to thoughtlessness. The bankers as a class have asked and have received extraordinary privileges at the hands of the government, and as a class they are asking new and larger favors. Because of this it has seemed to them necessary that they co-operate with other powerful influences whose representatives seek similar favors.

It will not be an easy matter to persuade the bankers as a class to raise their voices against present-day evils until they abandon their own demands for new and larger favors. Even then they may not be persuaded to surrender the enormous and unjust advantages they already possess. So long as the bankers as a class enjoy special

privileges under the law, we will find the bankers as a class associating themselves with other powerful men who enjoy similar favors and who seek for new favors of the same character.

The banker who protests against the undue advantages enjoyed or sought by other powerful interests is very liable to be asked "What do you think of asset currency?" And he will find himself in a very embarrassing situation if he is not able to say: "I am as much opposed to the special and extraordinary privilege known as asset currency when sought by the banker as I am to the extraordinary privileges of conspiring in restraint of trade and destroying the legitimate commerce of the country when sought by the trust magnate."

It is a good sign when a man in Mr. Brown's position makes the severe arraignment of the trusts and other evils such as characterized his address before the Nebraska Bankers' Association. It will be even a better sign when Mr. Brown and bankers who believe with him raise their voices in earnest protest against the asset currency plan and put themselves in the position to show that the bankers are as willing to do justice in matters effecting their own interests as they are to require justice at the hands of other men.

WHY PICK OUT THE LITTLE FELLOW?

A sixty-five dollar per month clerk, testifying before New York's insurance committee, declared that he had never signed a voucher acknowledging the receipt of several hundred dollars, to which voucher his name was attached. Newspaper dispatches have much to say concerning the promises that this clerk will be vigorously prosecuted on the charge of perjury.

This is all very well so far as it goes; but how does it happen that the prosecution of the McCalls, and the McCurdys—men who robbed their policyholders of millions of dollars—is not seriously proposed by any one in authority? How does it happen that out of all this exposure of theft and embezzlement, no one in authority seriously proposes the arrest and prosecution of the men

who for so many years have pretended to have a monopoly upon the patriotism and the intelligence of the country?

We have heard much in recent years concerning the claim that men who protest against the wrong-doing of wealthy rascals are stirring up class hatred. Do not intelligent men know that nothing will be so productive of intense class hatred as the fact, once established, that laws were made for the prosecution of the poverty-stricken wrong-doer; that the man who steals a loaf of bread or the woman who makes away with a peck of coal must pay the penalty; but the rich man who adds to his millions through the spoliation of trust funds goes scott free or is permitted to escape without punishment other than that involved, perhaps, in an enforced relinquishment of his office?

TIRES OF SOCIETY

The *Denver Post* reports the case of a young lady of that city who tires of society and wants to work. She says: "Society wearies me. What is there in it but empty form, and what do you gain? I want to do something worth while in the world—to feel the joy of good hard work well done." It is a laudable ambition. Society, when it means rivalry in expensive entertainments which pamper the body and overlook both mind and heart, is empty. No wonder that an earnest person finds it tiresome. Society, when it describes the association of congenial spirits where the animal in man is subordinated to the delights of the mind and the growth of the affections—such society is in every way helpful; and such society is entirely consistent with work. In fact, such society is only possible among those who find pleasure in service. It is of society in this better sense that the poet speaks when he says: "Society, friendship and love bequeathed by God unto man. O, had I wings of a dove how soon would I taste them again." But the fashionable society into which so many young men and women seem anxious to enter deadens the morals, rusts the intellect and at last destroys the body. Fortunate are those who tire of it early.

IS THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY DYING?

The *New York World* intimates that the democratic party is dying and the reasons for this impression are stated as follows:

> "A Tammany city convention adopts resolutions praising President Roosevelt for 'the surprising courage, remarkable tact, distinguished ability and commanding influence displayed by him as the central figure in the greatest peace triumph of the age.'
>
> "William Jennings Bryan, twice candidate for president on the democratic ticket, tenders to Mr. Roosevelt his sympathetic support in the campaign of regulating corporations in general and railway rates in particular.
>
> "The Massachusetts democrats commend Mr. Roosevelt for his services in establishing peace between Russia and Japan.
>
> "The Rhode Island democrats endorse Mr. Roosevelt's rate-regulation policy.
>
> "The republicans of Massachusetts are demanding a revision of the tariff.
>
> "Former Senator Caffery of Louisiana says the southern democrats are protectionists, and predicts the organization of a new party."

When a president elected as a republican moves for reform upon the lines proposed in three successive democratic national platforms, it would be strange if he did not have the support of democrats. The failure of democrats to support him in that proposed reform would provide better proof that the democratic party is dying than the *New York World* is able to cite in the patriotic, democratic and consistent attitude taken by democrats generally with respect to Mr. Roosevelt's efforts to enlarge the powers of the interstate commerce commission.

Former Senator Caffery of Louisiana has not for many years been an authority on democratic opinion, and that the republicans of Massachusetts are approaching the democratic position on the tariff question gives no reason for the belief that the democratic party is dying.

Democratic principles, as they were presented in 1896 and in 1900, are, admittedly, more popular today than ever before. And when we see distinguished republicans advocating democratic methods in the effort to provide the people with relief—and prevented from establishing reforms because their party is wedded to its corporation idols—it is absurd for any one to contend that "the democratic party is dying."

More and more the American people are coming to realize that the democratic party represents the real conservatism of the country—that it stands between the radicalism of the republican party on the one hand and the radicalism of the socialist on the other. More and more the people are coming to understand the evils of monopoly as described by democrats in 1896 and in 1900, and more and more they are coming to believe that the democratic methods for reform along these lines must be adopted if popular government is to be preserved.

The *Washington Times,* in an editorial printed in its issue of September 21, while displaying its gratitude for republican victory in 1896 and 1900 on account of the money question, added: "Now it is clear to us that practically every other notable feature of those two demagogic platforms was fully justified." And the *Times* further expresses regret that the opponents of the democratic party in those two campaigns were too "pig-headed" to perceive that while that party's deductions might be all awry its "premises might in the main be sound." Also, that the opponents of the democratic party in those campaigns would feel better today if they had not jumped "to the preposterous extreme of contradicting every premise on which these policies were supposed to hang down to the Ten Commandments."

Time was when political parties were presumed to display strength and political leaders were regarded as statesmen when they withheld their endorsements of proposed reforms advocated by the opposition; and there have been instances where men vigorously fought the very reforms which they had previously as vigorously advocated, and all because the opposition had adopted their own plans. But such things are of the past.

If democrats are not sufficiently sincere and patriotic to support their own plans for reform, even when those plans are adopted by sincere republicans, then they are incapable of giving strength and vitality to the political organization to which they belong.

If the democratic party were made up of men who would desert their principles and their policies simply because an honest republican had undertaken to put those principles and policies into effect, it might, in truth, be said that the democratic party is dying.

But at this time, when the masses of the people are hopefully turning to democratic policies, and when those republicans who are honestly striving for reform find their efforts thwarted by the powerful hold which monopoly has upon their own organization, there is every reason for the democrat to have faith in his party's vitality, and hope for the ultimate adoption by his countrymen of the principles for which his party has fought.

CONSTITUTION AND DECLARATION

The policies of this nation must be controlled by the principles upon which the nation was founded if popular government is to survive. Justice Matthews of the United States supreme court, delivering an opinion which has since been approvingly quoted by Justice Brewer, said:

> "When we consider the nature and theory of our institutions of government, the principles upon which they are supposed to rest and review the history of their development, we are constrained to conclude that they do not mean to leave room for the play and action of purely personal and arbitrary power. The first official action of the nation declared the foundation of the government in these words: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' While such declaration of principles may not have

the force of organic law, or be made the basis of judical decision as to the limits of rights and duty, and while in all cases reference must be had to the organic law of the nation for such limits, yet the latter is but the body and the letter, of which the former is the thought and the spirit. And it is always safe to read the letter of the constitution in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence. No duty rests more imperatively upon the courts than the enforcement of those constitutional provisions intended to secure that equality of rights which is the foundation of free government."

The importance of linking together the Declaration of Independence and the constitution is shown in recent American history. So long as we read our constitution, frame our laws and conform our executive action in accordance with the spirit of the declaration every individual and every interest subject to United States jurisdiction is safe. There is danger when the two are separated.

The republican party has separated the constitution from the declaration, and having weakened the structure to that extent has not hesitated to repudiate the constitution as it has repudiated the declaration. Every constitutional paragraph that has conflicted with the purpose of republican leaders has been violated. The legislative powers granted exclusively to congress have repeatedly been usurped by the executive. In the face of an explicit prohibition in the constitution an export tax has been levied, and in the arrangement of tariff duties preferences have been given to one port over another. Treaties have been undertaken by the executive alone, and without the advice of the senate. The right of trial by jury has been denied to the people of our new possessions; and although our constitution decares that there shall be no slavery in the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction, the republican party is responsible for the agreement wherein it was provided that on territory subject to United States jurisdiction—territory over which the American flag floated—slaves should have the privilege of purchasing their freedom by "paying to the master the usual market price."

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

It is apparent from the recent election returns that the municipal ownership sentiment is growing in every section of the country. There can be no doubt that there is today an overwhelming sentiment in favor of the collective ownership and operation of what are called natural municipal monopolies. It is impossible to have competition in lighting, in heating or in street car service, and the private ownership of these franchises not only leads to corruption in city government, but results in high rates and the accumulation of great fortunes for which the people at large receive no adequate return.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1905 ELECTIONS

The results of the recent elections indicate not only a disposition on the part of the American people to resent the impositions they have been required for so many years to bear, but, what is more important, a revival of the public conscience with respect to public affairs.

Without minimizing the great influence which Coxism and other local issues played in bringing about the good result in Ohio, it must not be forgotten that the railway rate issue contributed materially to that end. Even now some republicans are claiming—or admitting, as you please—that the democratic victory in Ohio must be accepted as an endorsement of Mr. Roosevelt's railway rate policy. Had the result been otherwise, every one knows the interpretation Senator Foraker and others of Mr. Roosevelt's opponents would have placed upon the result. What interpretation would Secretary Taft, who pleaded for Herrick votes, have given to a republican victory in Ohio? Mr. Foraker seems eager to place the blame upon Coxism and other local issues, but it may not be doubted that Mr. Roosevelt and his friends will yet find it convenient to point to the fact that the result in Ohio discredits Forakerism and sustains Mr. Roosevelt in his advocacy of what Mr. Foraker called "a democratic measure."

It will be observed that some of our republican friends are very ready to hold the democratic party responsible for the sins charged against Tammany, while they absolve the republican party from the sins charged against the republican machines in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Mr. Roosevelt did well to keep his official family out of the Pennsylvania contest, and it would have been greatly to the credit of his administration had his cabinet officers refrained from interfering in the Ohio contest. It was not at all creditable to the administration that so conspicuous a spokesman as Secretary Taft should take the stump in an effort to defeat the only political party that had the courage to endorse the president's views on the railway rate question, and in behalf of a ticket nominated by a convention that deliberately refused to endorse those views, which ticket was supported by leaders who were openly hostile to them.

But the important fact to remember is that in Ohio, the only state where the railway rate question was a clear cut issue—made so by the two conventions and by the speeches of leaders on either side—the "democratic measure" to which Mr. Roosevelt has given his endorsement received formal approval by the people.

The crushing defeat which the republican machine met in Philadelphia's city election and in the Pennsylvania state election is the best news that the people of the Keystone state have heard for many a year. Although Pennsylvanians have long been mercilessly oppressed, they seem to have been wedded to their idols, but there, as in other contests where an appeal was made to the conscience of men, the response was ready and unmistakable.

The elections of 1905 must give encouragement to those who would wage political battle along moral lines. The conscience controls human actions whenever it is awakened, and it is only awakened by a voice from another conscience. If we would touch the consciences of others we may get evidence that our own consciences have been quickened. The great issue at this time is the issue between man and mammon, between democracy and plutocracy. All surface questions of national policy, of tax-

ation, of regulation and of finance, are but phases of that century-long, that world-wide struggle between the common people and organized wealth.

To say that it does not pay a nation to violate the rights of the people of another nation involves so much of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division that many are lost in a maze of mathematics, but to say that the wages of sin is death is to give an epitome of history that accords with each person's experience. To say that taxation which confers immediate benefits upon the privileged few who secured the enactment of the law does not find its way back by indefinite and devious ways to the pockets of the many, may confuse the minds of some, but to say "Thou Shalt Not Steal," either by law or in defiance of it, can be easily understood. And so in dealing with principles, with finance, with labor problems and all other questions at issue, we may view them from a moral standpoint and arraign every evil at the bar of public conscience.

Will it win? Nothing less can give permanent success. As the martyrs who, eighteen hundred years ago, kneeling in prayer while hungry beasts devoured them, invoked a power mightier than the legions of Rome, so today it is not only possible, but necessary to appeal to that moral sentiment of a nation which, when aroused, will prove more potent than the oppressor.

A SPLENDID MONUMENT

Sir George Williams, the founder of the Young Men's Christian Association, died in London, England, on November 6 at the age of eighty-six. Sixty-five years ago, while yet a clerk in a London store, he inaugurated the movement which is known today as the "Y. M. C. A." In 1844 he called a few of his fellow clerks together and the first organization was formed. The intention was to confine it to clerks, but the movement soon outgrew its original bounds and in a few years was world wide in its scope. Today there are Y. M. C. A. organizations in every country on the globe, and in nearly every city in these countries. Mr. Williams was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1894 as a recognition of his work in the interests of young men.

It is impossible to conceive of the great work that the organization started by Sir George Williams sixty years ago has done for young men. It has been a wonderful influence for righteousness, and its worth has been recognized by great corporations, by individuals and by communities. Nearly every great railroad system supports a branch of the Y. M. C. A., and religious denominations are a unit in supporting the organization. No monument of brass or marble that may be erected above the remains of Sir George Williams will be as enduring as the greater monument that has been erected in the hearts of thousands of young men who have been directed to lives of usefulness by the great Christian organization he founded.

HOW COULD IT BE OTHERWISE?

Writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* on "Wealth vs. Democracy," William Allen White says:

> "After taking as the price of his service to his countrymen every luxury that our civilization affords, for himself and for his household, the American millionaire has taken more. He has taken the power to oppress the people by establishing unnatural commercial and industrial conditions. By compelling the people to pay dividends upon watered stock in unfairly organized corporations, the rich man has unjustly increased the price of land transportation. This is laying a robber's tribute upon the masses, as surely as any baronial tax was ever put upon vassals. The tribute falls upon every article of necessity or of comfort or of luxury that the people use. More than that, the aggrandizement of capital in cheating corporations has made it possible for an usurious direct tax to be levied immorally, even though legally, upon the water the city dwellers use, upon the light and fuel and power that all the people use. Interest on bogus debts is paid by consumers of the commonest necessaries of life, and this unfairly accumulated wealth is used to devise further methods and to legalize them, in order

to put the yoke of accumulating capital upon the people. Rich men are but men; they love power as all men love it, and they use it as men. Their money gives them power; it opens a new sport to them, when the mere getting of money palls. This diversion is the control of government."

After saying all this Mr. White adds: "Thus far in playing that game the rich man has not materially harmed the country. He has played for pleasure rather than for profit."

It is a bad habit some newspaper men have of seeking to minimize evils even after they have, more or less dramatically, described these evils. It is absurd for Mr. White to say that "thus far" the game played by the plutocrats has "not materially harmed the country." With all the popular protest now being made, the people are resenting only a comparatively small portion of the impositions that have been put upon them. So many of these impositions have operated upon the public welfare in an indirect way that in all too many cases the people are unable to locate the responisbility. But Mr. White's own statements show that the country has been "materially harmed."

How could it be otherwise when—accepting Mr. White's own testimony—the eminent defender of "national honor" has not even been content with demanding "for himself and for his household every luxury that our civilization affords?"

How could it be otherwise when, according to Mr. White, these eminent gentlemen have "taken the power to oppress the people by establishing unnatural commercial and industrial conditions?"

How could it be otherwise when, according to Mr. White's own testimony, these men have compelled the people "to pay dividends on watered stock in unfairly organized corporations," thereby "unjustly increasing the price of land transportation?"

How could it be otherwise when, according to Mr. White's own testimony, these men have "laid a robber's tribute upon the masses as surely as any baronial tax was ever put upon vassals?"

And even Mr. White tells us that this tribute "falls upon every article of necessity or of comfort or of luxury that the people use."

And how could it be otherwise when, as we are told by Mr. White himself, "the aggrandizement of capital in cheating corporations has made it possible for a usurious direct tax to be levied immorally, even though legally, upon the water that the city dwellers use, and upon the light and fuel and power that all of the people use?"

How could it be otherwise when, as we are told by Mr. White, "interest on bogus debts is paid by consumers of the commonest necessaries of life," and that this unfairly accumulated wealth "is used to devise further methods and to legalize them, in order to put the yoke of accumulating capital upon the people?"

In the beginning Mr. White stated the case well. He made a fair indictment, and by his own testimony it must be clear to intelligent men that these conspirators against the lives and the happiness of the people have "materially harmed the country." It must, also, be clear that unless at an early day the oppressed make bold to defend themselves from the oppressor "failure" will be written in connection with the American experiment in popular government.

WORK FOR JEROME

Mr. Jerome has a right to be proud of his victory in New York. Entering the contest as an independent candidate, he stirred up such enthusiasm among the voters that the republican candidate retired in his favor, and Mr. Jerome was elected by a substantial plurality.

It will not do for Mr. Jerome to recline upon his laurels. There is important work for his office, and during the campaign he promised that he would do that work.

Those insurance officials who are responsible for the frauds recently exposed should be arrested and prosecuted. Long ago this duty should have been discharged, and now that he has received such a flattering compliment at the hands of the people, Mr. Jerome owes it to himself and to the public to proceed against these insurance magnates. These proceedings should be promptly commenced and vigorously pushed.

A GOOD EXAMPLE

The Minneapolis Club, the chief business men's club of Minneapolis, has just set an example of law observance that should be followed by similar organizations. Recently Mayor Jones decided to "shut down the lid," as the saying goes, and as a result Minneapolis has been "dry" for several Sundays in succession. As an incorporated club the Minneapolis Club could keep its buffet open on Sunday, but at a meeting of the directors it was decided to set an example, and as a result the Minneapolis Club is as "dry" on Sunday as the rest of the city.

The club's action takes from the opponents of Sunday observance one of their chief arguments. "The saloon is the poor man's club," they exclaim. "You close the poor man's club on Sunday, but you let the rich man's club remain wide open." But in Minneapolis the "rich man's club" is also closed. The action of the managers of the Minneapolis Club is worthy of commendation.

FACTS TO BE FORGOTTEN

If we accept the theory of some of our republican friends, the political party to which they belong can do no wrong. According to their theory that party is not to be held responsible for the sins of commission or of omission in its name and under its authority.

It was in the name and for the use and benefit of the republican party that "a hurry up call" was made, during the closing hours of the campaign of 1896, for a boodle fund of $5,000,000. The call was responded to. The men who gave it posed as "defenders of national honor," but as we have learned in the recent exposures before the New York insurance committee, they had small concern for their own honor when they took other people's money for the enrichment of the republican campaign fund.

The men whose frauds have recently been exposed were, during the campaign of 1896, referred to by republican newspapers as models of good citizens, as "representatives of the business interests of the country," and as men whose advice should be followed by patriotic citi-

zens. The American people know today that but for the frauds and embezzlements committed by those men republican victory would have been impossible. Yet republican newspapers, finding it impossible to conceal or apologize for the wrong-doing on the part of their patron saints, expect the people to overlook the very important facts that many of these embezzlements were made for the benefit of the republican party; and that they were made with at least the implied understanding that republican victory meant a reign of frenzied financiering, an era of trust building, new opportunities for plunder by so-called captains of industry, and immunity to those who were willing to commit crime under the guise of "business enterprise."

In the name of the republican party the machine, against which the good people of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania generally battled waged war against public interests. In Ohio the machine against which the people of that state revolted was, admittedly, the official representative of the republican party. But now some republican newspapers and leaders, insisting yet that their party is the "God and morality" organization, point to the overthrow of their party in Ohio and Pennsylvania as victories for righteousness, expecting the people to forget the part borne by the republican party and its representatives in those great contests.

Some republican newspapers and leaders point to the contest for railroad regulation as a battle for the people's rights. They admit that the corporation lobby is using disreputable methods to prevent the people from obtaining relief, yet while all the time insisting that their party is "the people's party" they expect the people to forget that railroad regulation failed at the last session of congress because of the republican senate's subserviency to corporate interests; and they hope that the people will overlook the facts that if railroad regulation fails at the coming session the failure will be because the republican senate is wedded to its corporation idols and that the people have nothing to expect at the hands of that republican body.

Boasting that the republican party may be depended upon to provide a business administration of public af-

fairs, these republican editors expect the people to overlook the gross extravagance, the private snaps, the embezzlements and the frauds generally that have been committed under republican administration. They expect the people to forget the deficit for the last fiscal year and to overlook the prospective deficit for the current year.

Dietrich, Burton and Mitchell, United States senators, and the several representatives in congress who were required to answer to criminal indictments were elected to office by the republican party. But we must forget that fact.

Former Governor Odell, who has not clearly explained how he happened to be paid $75,000 in the settlement of a suit pending against the Equitable Life Assurance Society, is the present-day republican boss of New York. But we must forget that fact.

The frauds committed by the Machens and others in the postoffice department were committed by men who, in 1896, were either avowed republicans or were so zealous for the "national honor" that they rushed to the support of the republican ticket in that campaign, and held their offices under republican administration. But we must forget that fact.

The frauds committed in Cuba by the Neelys were perpetrated by distinguished republicans, and under republican administration. But we must forget it.

Loomis, whose official transactions in Venezuela were so discreditable that, although, plainly, he had the friendship of the administration, he was required to retire from the diplomatic service, was one of the noisest pretenders in 1896; and his official existence was made possible by the republican party. But we must forget it.

Depew, the United States senator lately unmasked in various ways, pleaded in 1896 for what he called "the salvation of the country." He was elected and re-elected to the senate by the republican party, and with all his discreditable conduct still holds his official position without serious protest on the part of republican leaders. But we must forget these facts.

McCall, McCurdy, Hyde, Harriman and the other frenzied financiers into whose affairs Attorney Hughes has recently inserted the probe, were greatly exercised in

1896 lest the honor of the United States be tarnished. They are the men upon whose testimony the republican party has often relied to prove that it is, in fact and in deed, the party of "God and morality." But we must forget it.

Andrews, the Detroit banker who charged the democratic candidate in 1896 with being "the dishonest leader of dishonest men," and was subsequently shown to be an embezzler to the extent of $1,600,000, was a champion of the republican party. But we must forget it.

Bigelow, the Milwaukee banker who recently defaulted to the extent of more than three million dollars, pleaded for the election of the republican ticket in 1896 in order that the "business interests" of the country might be preserved. But we must forget it.

Rockefeller and every one of his cheaper imitations—men who seek to pile up wealth at the expense of their helpless fellows—not only vote the republican ticket, but, from their ill-gotten gains, contribute liberally to republican campaign funds. But we must forget it.

"VERY FAR FROM DEAD"

Several weeks ago the *New York World* intimated that the democratic party is dying. The *World* based its reasons for that impression upon the facts that a democratic city convention praised President Roosevelt for his part in the peace conference; that Mr. Bryan supports Mr. Roosevelt in his railway rate program; that the Massachusetts democrats commended Mr. Roosevelt for his services in establishing peace between Russia and Japan; that the Rhode Island democrats indorsed Mr. Roosevelt's rate regulation policy; that the republicans of Massachusetts demanded a revision of the tariff.

But now the *World,* admitting that it "recently asked if the democratic party was dying," confesses "it is very far from dead." The *World* bases its present-day conviction on the following statement of fact:

> "Roosevelt's plurality of 505,000 in Pennsylvania has been overturned and the democratic candidate for state treasurer is elected by 88,000. Roose-

velt's plurality of 250,000 in Ohio is likewise overturned. The republican candidate for governor was elected in Massachusetts, but the candidate for lieutenant-governor has a beggarly 2,000 on the face of the returns. Roosevelt had 92,000 in Massachusetts last year."

The *World* exclaims: "What a political revolution it was! Who would have believed that such amazing changes could take place within a year?"

Well, any one but the provincial editor of a provincial newspaper would have known that such changes could take place. The *World* concludes: "That they could take place proves that no party is safe, no boss is safe, no party tradition is safe, in the face of the growing spirit of political independence on the part of the American voter."

The very facts upon which the *World* based its notion that the democratic party is dying should have indicated to its editor that the democratic party is "very much alive." The *World* editor imagined the democratic party was dying because representatives of that party made bold to formally give their support to honest republicans who were seeking to put into effect policies for which democrats had long contended.

Some newspaper editors have peculiar methods of reaching conclusions. The editor of the *New York World* concluded, a few weeks ago, that the democratic party was dying because democrats, individually and in conventions, were showing enough independence of party spirit to endorse democratic policies even where an effort was being made by republican leaders to put these policies into effect. Now the editor of the *World* concludes that the democratic party "is very far from dead" because of "the growing spirit of political independence on the part of the American voter."

WHY NOT MUTUALIZE?

In an article written for *Harper's,* Grover Cleveland says: "Our business men seem lamentably willing, if not anxious, to accept trusteeships and directorships, more to add to their prominence and importance among their fellows than to do actual, conscientious duties in protecting the interests confided to their care. * * * The passing of the term 'dummy director' with the conditions which gave it life is certainly a consummation devoutly to be wished."

Has any one observed a mutualization of the Equitable Assurance Society since Mr. Ryan chose Mr. Cleveland as one of the "trustees?" Is Mr. Cleveland, in truth, any more than a "dummy" trustee under the Ryan management? If he has real power, why does he not exercise it for the advancement of genuine reforms? Mutualization is the thing for which the policyholders of the Equitable have long sought, yet under the Ryan management and the Cleveland trusteeship, the policyholders—the men whose welfare should be the chief concern of their trustees—are as far away as ever from a realization of their dream.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

In his message to congress President Roosevelt speaks plainly of railway rate legislation. He clearly and distinctly draws the line of battle, at least for the present-day contest.

In the simplest sort of language he points out the enormity of the evils sought to be corrected; he asks that some "administrative body" be given the power to decide, when complaint has been made, whether the given rate prescribed by the railroad is reasonable and just; if the rate is found to be unreasonable and unjust, then the "administrative body" is to have power to fix the maximum rate.

The president makes it clear that he prefers that the interstate commerce commission shall be the "administrative body" referred to, and he emphasizes the importance of entrusting this power to an administrative rather

than to a judicial body, saying: "Events have shown that it is not possible adequately to secure the enforcement of any law of this kind by incessant appeal to the courts." He makes it plain, also, that when the "administrative body" has fixed a maximum rate, that rate shall go into effect practically at once. Such rate, in the president's own words, "after the lapse of a reasonable time, goes into full effect, subject to review by the courts."

The president explains that he recommends a restoration rather than an innovation. He says: "From the earliest time, such regulation of industrial activities has been recognized in the action of lawmaking bodies; and all that I propose is to meet the changed conditions in such manner as will prevent the commonwealth abdicating a power it has always possessed, not only in this country but also in England before and since this country became a separate nation." He recommends, also, that all private car lines, refrigerator charges and the like should be expressly put under the supervision of the "administrative body" so far as rates, and agreements practically affecting rates, are concerned.

Pointing out some of the evils flowing from the practice of rebates, he asks that the government be given the power to put a stop to these special favors. As one way of abolishing rebates, he suggests that whenever it develops that a special rate has been given a favored shipper, the "administrative body" shall have the power to fix this already established minimum rate as the maximum rate. The president expresses the opinion that "it would need only one or two such decisions by the commission to cure railroad companies of the practice of giving improper minimum rates."

The president gives the opponents of railroad legislation something to think about when, in concluding his paragraph with reference to the subject he says: "It is because, in my judgment, public ownership of railroads is highly undesirable and would probably in this country entail far-reaching disaster, that I wish to see such supervision and regulation of them in the interest of the public as will make it evident that there is no need of public ownership."

With respect to one paragraph, referring to the railroad question, there will not be that general approval which, unquestionably, will be extended to the president's treatment of the railroad subject as a whole. The president says: "The power vested in the government to put a stop to agreements to the detriment of the public should, in my judgment, be accompanied by power to permit, under specified conditions and careful supervision, agreement clearly in the interest of the public." But why depend upon these railroad managers to make "agreements clearly in the interest of the public?" Why not require each and every railroad to comply with conditions "clearly in the interest of the public," not through an agreement between their respective managers, but in compliance with the law of the land?

The president touches very lightly upon the tariff question. He does not even say, as he said in one or two former messages, that reciprocity and protection are "twin measures" or that "reciprocity is the handmaiden of protection;" nor does he pay to the protective system those high sounding tributes so common with republican statesmen when dealing with that subject. Indeed, when one remembers that the tariff question is now occupying a conspicuous place in the public attention, it is somewhat difficult to believe that the non-committal reference to the tariff was written by the same hand which penned the clear cut and frank statements, in the same message, referring to railroad legislation. By reading between the lines one might conclude that the president is opposed to tariff revision at the present time and that he is in favor of reciprocity in what might be called homeopathic doses. When the president says that it would, in his judgment, be well to endeavor to bring about "closer commercial connections with other peoples of this continent" one is justified in concluding that Mr. Whitney of Massachusetts was not far wrong when he represented the president as being in favor of freer trade relations with Canada.

The president pleads for "the element of elasticity to our currency system." He says that "banks are the natural servants of commerce, and upon them should be placed, as far as practicable, the burden of furnishing and

maintaining a circulation adequate to supply the needs of our diversified industries and of our domestic and foreign commerce.'' Here, also, the president fails to make himself entirely clear, although many people will suspect that he advocates some sort of an asset currency, perhaps such a system as that which Secretary of the Treasury Shaw has publicly favored.

His reference to the merchant marine, while not explicit, so far as his own preferences are concerned, will be fairly interpreted by the champions of the ship subsidy as an endorsement of their measure.

The president's references to elections are interesting. His recommendations that contributions by corporations be forbidden and that congress as well as the state legislatures forbid the use of money in connection with any legislation ''save by the employment of counsel in public manner for distinctly legal services'' are wise. So, also, is the renewal of the recommendation contained in a former message that a statement of the expenditures for nominations and elections, and also a statement of all contributions received, be made public. The president overlooked one vital point in making these recommendations. The law should require that every contribution made for compaign purposes be published, say thirty days prior to election day, in order that the people may determine the character of the forces behind the respective candidates.

One of the general recommendations made in the message will appeal to the American people generally. This is where President Roosevelt recommends that the suggestion made seven years ago by President McKinley, to the effect that congress make provision for the care of the graves of the confederate dead, be acted on. President Roosevelt adds: ''The first need is to take charge of the graves of the confederate dead who died in northern prisons.'' It is to be hoped that congress will act promptly on this recommendation. The old-time wounds are very nearly healed, and nothing would so tend to the completion of the healing process as a provision by congress of suitable care for the graves of our southern brothers. On Memorial Day the men and women of the south strew flowers on the graves of the boys in blue,

while the men and women of the north strew flowers on the graves of the boys in gray. Among the masses of the American people today there are "tears and love for the blue, love and tears for the gray." This sentiment might well find expression in an act of congress complying with the president's recommendation; for do we not know that "they banish our hates forever when they laurel the graves of our dead?"

LOAFING AS A FINE ART

General Smith, U. S. A., popularly known as "Hell Roaring Jake" Smith, is now upon the retired list. Recently he sailed for Europe, and before doing so said he was going over there to loaf because it was impossible to loaf scientifically in this country.

General Smith is evidently a very careless observer. Loafing has become a fine art, to say nothing of having become a science—in this country. Scores of bank examiners, numerous examiners of insurance companies, directors in banks and industrial corporations, government officials, city officials charged with watching out for the interests of the people—these and hundreds of other instances that might be mentioned all prove that loafing is scientifically followed in this country, and demonstrates that General Smith is traveling far under a very badly mistaken notion of prevailing conditions.

Scientific loafing as practiced by a bank examiner in Illinois resulted in the loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars to confiding men and women who trusted Mr. Spaulding.

Scientific loafing on the part of insurance commissioners in New York resulted in hundreds of thousands of policyholders being systematically robbed by greedy insurance promoters and syndicate schemers.

Scientific loafing on the part of public officials charged with guarding the welfare of the people has resulted in giant combinations that feed and fatten upon the public.

Indeed, scientific loafers who live off of the toil of their fellows and spend their entire time in frivolous pleasures are almost too numerous to mention.

General "Jake" Smith has spent his study hours to poor advantage if he knows so little about his own country. We have more scientific loafers to the thousand of population than almost any other country on earth.

"HYSTERIA AND RANCOR"

In his message to congress, and referring to the corporation question, President Roosevelt said: "This legislation should be enacted in a spirit as remote as possible from hysteria and rancor." Of course there should be no "hysteria and rancor" in the transaction of public business, any more than there should be "hysteria and and rancor" in the affairs of individuals. But it will occur to a great many people that it was hardly necessary for the president to warn a republican congress against "hysteria and rancor" in the framing of corporation legislation, unless, indeed, he meant to caution the body not to display too much rancor against a corporation-ridden public pleading for relief, and not to indulge in too much hysteria while pulling corporation chestnuts out of the fire.

Such phrases as those here used by President Roosevelt were coined in the mints controlled by the representatives of special interests. In their view every man is "hysterical" who raises his voice in protest against corporate imposition, and pleads for equal rights to all and special privileges to none; every man is "hysterical" who rejects the proposition that the Baers and the McCalls and the McCurdys are divinely ordained to control the property interests of the country and by reason of that high commission are entitled to select our public officials and to control our public policies—as well as our public and private funds.

If the warning against "hysteria and rancor" has any serious meaning it is that in the discharge of every duty, whether that duty relates to the affairs of government or to individual concerns, men should act calmly and without malice. But no one, outside of corporation circles, will seriously contend that men confronted with the duty of protecting popular government from the foul hands

of those who would destroy it should not act resolutely.

No one is justified in accusing the American people of "hysteria and rancor" in the contemplation of the evils confronting them.

In 1896 they were so calm, so far from "hysteria and rancor," that they gave their support to a political organization that had mortgaged itself to a coterie of men whose purpose it was to prey upon the people.

They are now so far from "hysteria and rancor" that, although the republican party has suffered to be put upon them imposition after imposition, they have borne it calmly and have restored to power, and have again restored to power, the political organization which, so far as political organizations go, is solely responsible for their woes.

They see sitting in the senate of the United States a number of admittedly unworthy men. Many of them are nothing more than the representatives of special interests. Some of them have been indicted and convicted in courts of justice. The dishonesty of some others has been exposed before investigating committees. Yet they all hold their offices, draw their salaries, and continue to cast their votes against the public interests. The people are so far from "hysteria and rancor" that there is hardly a protest against this affront to the intelligence and honesty of the country.

It has been shown before the insurance committee at New York that men in charge of great commercial bodies have stolen millions of dollars of their policyholders' money; that these men have committed perjury and have caused their subordinates to do likewise. Yet comparatively few of these men have retired from their commercial positions. Those who have retired have been succeeded by men who, in the presidential campaign of 1896, were conspicuous in their efforts to see that the people remained free from "hysteria and rancor;" they saw to it that the republican party, with the aid of campaign funds stolen from democratic policyholders, as well as from republican policyholders, achieved a victory that, as was then claimed, was to be a victory for truth and righteousness, but, as is now known, was a victory for falsehood and dishonor.

The people are so far removed from "hysteria and rancor" that, although it has been shown before the insurance committee that even the present republican administration, as well as its predecessors, was placed in power through the aid of campaign funds stolen from the policyholders, no serious demand has been made that the republican party restore to the policyholders those ill-gotten gains.

Even in the face of the disclosures that the republican party has profited by these thefts republican statesmen pretend to be anxious to devise a plan whereby such contributions shall, for the future, be made impossible, expecting the people to forget the part their party played in the absorption of those funds. And the American people are so far removed from "hysteria and rancor" that newspapers seriously discuss the pretended efforts of these republican statesmen to give reforms along this line, while there is hardly a mention of the disreputable part played by republican party leaders, and even by a member of the president's cabinet in the misappropriation of these trust funds.

Men are not necessarily "hysterical" when they grow earnest in demanding reform. Men do not necessarily display "rancor" simply because they insist that when the roguery of a United States senator or an insurance magnate has been exposed the guilty man be treated even as the common rogue is treated.

The last person in the world to intimate that there is a disposition on the part of the American people toward "hysteria and rancor," should be of a party that has shown utter disregard for the public welfare, servile devotion to special interests and complete indifference to the simple rules of common honesty.

Rather than warnings against "hysteria and rancor" on the part of those who have real concern for the public welfare, men and who assume to teach and lead owe it to themselves and to their country to plead that the people show greater zeal in the protection of their interests and that they arouse themselves to greater earnestness in the effort to see to it that the welfare of eighty million people is not jeopardized. The people owe it to themselves to defeat the machinations of a coterie of men

whose wicked purposes differ from the wicked purposes of the highwayman only insofar that where one steals pennies the other steals thousands; only insofar that where one retains his freedom by evading the courts and dodging the officers of the law, the other retains his freedom because the authorities are so far removed from "hysteria and rancor" that they dare not act resolutely in a simple effort to assert the majesty of the law.

AVENUES OF USEFULNESS

FARMING

The Commoner will not live up to the purpose of its founder unless it makes itself indispensable to all the members of the family. While its main aim is to assist others in the intelligent and patriotic exercise of the suffrage it strives also to commend itself to the housewife and to the children. In fact, it can not more surely win the confidence of the parents than by stimulating the boys and girls to worthy effort by presentation of high ideals of life. There is but one measure of greatness—namely, service—and service is the measure of happiness also. Only those find life worth living who devote themselves conscientiously to some work which satisfies the conscience and contributes to human welfare. Money is useful as a servant, when honestly acquired, but money does not buy happiness. Social intercourse is necessary for recreation and for the study of human nature but nothing is more empty than a life wholly devoted to society. Even public service returns more sorrow than satisfaction if it is undertaken from selfish motives. Each one needs a lifework which, while furnishing food and shelter and clothing, will yield a surplus of advantage to the public at large. The avenues of usefulness are innumerable and one has no difficulty in selecting one so congenial that work will become a pleasure. Some of these will be suggested from time to time in these columns.

Let us take, first, work upon the farm, as it demands a larger number than any other branch of industry. Without attempting to distinguish between agriculture and horticulture, consider the inviting field that opens

before the farmer. The study of the soil, to learn what crops are most suitable; the examination of seeds, to ascertain which are the most potent; experimentation with methods of culture, to determine which gives the best results—all these are alluring departments of work. Then, the insects which must be fought and the blights which must be avoided—these open up interesting lines of study.

And the breeding of horses, cattle, hogs and sheep—what an opportunity they furnish for intelligent selection and scientific care. Idleness ought not to be described as luxurious or even tolerable when farming is so much more fascinating. The latter furnishes food and exercise for the body, activity for the mind and occupation for the beast, while the former rusts the physical and mental faculties and corrupts the morals. Besides the crops and herds the farmer has the orchard, the berry patch, the vineyard, the garden and the flower beds to develop—here also is an opportunity to employ brain as well as muscle and to enjoy the consciousness of contributing to the sum of human knowledge and happiness. The farmer who adds something to his own purse by an improvement in breed, or plant or method of culture adds something to the world's wealth as well as to his own.

It has been too much the custom to advise studious and ambitious boys to go into the professions, but the tide should turn. We need educated boys upon the farm and it will be a glad day when we recognize that there is dignity in all useful labor and that the possibilities of the farm are infinite.

If the country boy longs for the excitement of the city let him compare the pale-faced, narrow-chested clerks as they stream forth from boarding-houses and flats with the vigorous, sunbrowned sons of the open field and he will be able to estimate the penalty which a mistaken pride has to pay for wearing "good clothes" and having clean hands all the time. Our agricultural colleges are doing a great work in setting higher farm ideals before the farmer boys and these institutions will be worth many times what they cost if they teach the young men of the country what splendid opportunities the farm fur-

nishes for a healthful life, spent amid the most wholesome surroundings, dedicated to a large service and capable of returning a sufficient reward.

MECHANICAL SCIENCE

Attention has already been called to the wide field which farming offers to the young man who desires to live a useful life, but there are some whose tastes lead them toward work more purely scientific. Instead of studying nature's laws as they apply to production they have a bent for research into the laws which relate to the mechanical world. The wonderful development of commerce has turned attention to the transportation problem, while in the cities the question of lighting, heating and communication are added to the traction question. The political phases of these questions will be considered at another time, but the mechanical problems alone offer measureless possibilities.

Steam and electricity are the motive powers now employed—both but recently brought into use. Are there any "dark horses" yet to be called into service? Is there any other force that can be harnessed?

Professor Elisha Gray, of telephone fame, suggests that the contraction and expansion of metals under the influence of atmospheric changes may yet be used as a motive power. There is an incalculable amount of energy stored in the air and in the water and a new utilization of this energy by economical methods will richly reward the inventor and greatly benefit the world.

At present there is an enormous waste in fuel, but a small fraction of the energy stored in coal and wood being saved by present processes. Is it possible to reduce this waste? There is leakage in the transmission of electric power, can this leakage be lessened? And the storage battery, can it further improved? When the dream of the inventor is realized and the storage battery perfected the winds and the running water and even the sun's rays can be made to store light and motive power.

The lighting problem is one of increasing interest. Acetylene has not only become a rival of coal gas, but is more easily produced in small quantities, while electricity rivals both. Have we reached the limit in this direction?

Less progress has been made in heating than in lighting. We have, to be sure, the hot air furnace, the steam pipes and the hot water radiator but we rely on coal and wood as our forefathers did. The ice machine has robbed the winter of his old-time monopoly; is there any way by which the process can be reversed? It has been demonstrated that the heat increases from the surface of the earth toward the center. It has been suggested that this heat might be made available by a system of pipes which would carry water down cold and bring it back heated. Who will be the first to tap this exhaustless furnace?

The telephone and the telegraph have wonderfully improved the means of communication. The transmission of intelligence by wire had become an old story when the telephone appeared with its still more wonderful transmission of the human voice along the wire and now science is flinging messages through space without the aid of voice. What will the next step be?

While one group of scientists is working on forestry, another group is devising substitutes for wood, and already the cement house, the cement sidewalk and the cement fence post are reducing the lumber bill. Here, too, is an inviting field. What young man can content himself with ignoble indolence when he can find so much happiness in rendering a valuable service to society. Parents can encourage their children by placing before them books which will turn their thoughts towards these fields. Every child that has a taste for scientific study should have Elisha Gray's three little books entitled "Nature's Miracles." They are published by Lords, Howard & Hurlburt, New York, and can be procured at any book store for about 60 cents per volume. They are as interesting as a novel and far more helpful than most novels.

Elisha Gray was born in 1835 and died in 1901. He was a farmer's son and was left fatherless at fourteen. He worked at various forms of manual labor until he got a chance to go to college, entering Oberlin at twenty-two. His rise shows what a boy can do with ambition and perseverance. One of the virtues of his writings is that he presents scientific truth without materialistic coloring. His study of nature did not lead him to forget

nature's God. The investigation of science ought to increase rather than diminish reverence for the Creator, for each new discovery proves more clearly the wisdom and power of the great Designer. The patterns that He has set invite limitless effort. The soap bubble presents a combination of colors that the artist has thus far failed to match; a pint of water holds a latent energy which no giant can boast; the trembling leaf containes a laboratory more complete than the chemist has been able to construct; the tiniest seed that falls to the ground possesses a potency that man has not yet fathomed. Working in the midst of mysteries and dumb in the presence of the daily miracle of life we are constantly gathering evidence of the loving kindness of the Infinite Intelligence who has so bountifully provided for the supplying of every human need.

THE BUILDING TRADES

Perhaps some of the younger readers of The Commoner have a taste for carpentering, brick or stone laying, plastering or painting. All are honorable occupations and permanent ones. Home building is not a transient industry. While we have a race there will be houses, schools, stores and factories to build. There is employment for brain as well as muscle in the construction of a building and there is also a chance for the development of integrity and character. Trustworthiness as well as skill is required to make a good artisan and no one is more sure to grow upon his merits than the workman who conscientiously does his work and, while demanding fair compensation, gives an equivalent in service. The builder who knows his business and gives it his attention is bound to rise. He may start at the bottom of the ladder but he will soon be needed as a foreman, then as superintendent and finally he will be contracting for himself.

The energies of both mind and body can be usefully employed in the building trades and besides furnishing remuneration this branch of industry returns a larger dividend in happiness than an idle life can furnish.

It is unaccountable that any one should prefer a life of indolence and amusement hunting to a life that gives constant occupation at something that contributes to the

nation's wealth and well-being. The manual training schools are doing much to emphasize the dignity of manual labor and to turn the attention of boys to its agreeableness. Just now the Employers' Association is trying to create friction and antagonism between union and non-union labor. There should be no hostility on the part of non-union labor, for the benefits of unionism are enjoyed by all labor. Nearly all the increase in wages, nearly all the reduction in hours, nearly all the improvement in the conditions surrounding employment can be traced to the efforts of organized labor. Take away the labor organization and the condition of the artisans of the country would soon become unbearable. That the labor leaders make mistakes can not be denied—but can we expect perfection of human beings? Strikes have been called for insufficient reasons and have sometimes been accompanied by violence, but the remedy is not to be found in making the employe fight his battle single handed but rather in the selection of more discreet and more reliable leaders. We do not despair of self-government because some public officials are convicted of "grafting" and "boodling;" we punish the guilty and exercise more care in picking public servants.

Much that has been said of the building trades applies to factory work except that in the larger factories it is harder for an artisan to reach a position of independence. The trust also menaces the factory employe. It not only lessens the number of those who can hope to engage in business for themselves, but it throws on the employer all the risk of overproduction. The employe, under the trust system, not only has to bear the ordinary risks of an occasional depression, but as the trust can artificially raise prices it can keep up its profits while decreasing production. But the trusts can be exterminated and other evils remedied; the evils which flow from idleness are irremedial. Productive labor is conducive to health and helpful to morals. Those who prefer manual labor can make of themselves workmen who need not be ashamed.

MERCHANDISING

Some have a taste for trade, and merchandising is not only a legitimate but a necessary branch of business. There is a vast economy to the public in having a middle

man through whom to exchange products. The old-fashioned market brought certain traders together and enabled them to exchange their wares, but it was at best a rather clumsy affair. The man with a horse, a hog or a sheep to sell might not find a purchaser and then he would have to carry his property back with him, and not everything that the farmer needed could be found at the market place. Then, market days were occasional and man's needs are constant. The store is a convenience that only those can appreciate who have been forced to do without it.

The young man who enjoys barter can prepare for storekeeping with the assurance that he can render a valuable service to society and in doing so secure a fair remuneration. From the country store, with its general stock of staples, up through the special lines to the wholesale house leads an honorable path that millions have followed with profit to themselves and benefit to their fellows. Clerkship is the first step and it is well for one to take it before becoming an owner, even though he may have money enough to start as a proprietor. Nothing can take the place of experience and no one is so fit to become an employer as one who has worked up from the ranks of the employes.

The first lesson for the merchant to learn is that he is in business for the accommodation of his customers. They can live without him, but he can not keep store without them. To secure them and to hold them he must treat them fairly and to treat them fairly he must furnish them what they want at a price that is not extortionate. The merchant who takes advantage of his customers, charges more when they send after an article than when they call themselves and inquire the price, or palms off an inferior article soon becomes acquainted with the sheriff and the judgment creditor. The clerk who shows an aptitude for business, who makes friends for his employer, who can be relied upon and who is not afraid to work is the one who stands the best chance of becoming the partner when a change occurs in the firm.

Merchandising has an advantage over farming in that the merchant can better coin into money his personal popularity and the confidence which he enjoys. The

cattle, hogs, wheat and corn of the just and the unjust sell at the same price in the market, but the trade of a community, other things being equal, will flow into the store of the man who by courtesy, kindness and character wins the confidence of the people.

What a pity that any young man should live an idle, pleasure-seeking life when it is possible by honesty, industry, perseverance and good habits to make a success in so many useful occupations—and few occupations offer greater opportunity than merchandising for a gradual growth on merit from a small beginning to financial independence. Just now the trusts are squeezing the merchants by shortening credits, forcing exclusive contracts and throwing more and more of the risks of trade upon them, but the trusts will not last always. An enlightened public sentiment will soon set limits to corporate power and restore competition.

THE LAW

So many young men turn their attention to the law that it may seem unnecessary to add a word of encouragement. Whenever a boy shows aptitude in public speaking or fondness for debate he is generally advised to study law, as if felicity of expression were the only requirements at the bar and useful nowhere else.

Speaking is an important part of the lawyer's work in most cases, but only a part, and in a country like ours every citizen should be able to bear an honorable part in public discussion. No one should enter the law with the idea that it affords a means of making money easily. Success at the bar is impossible without great and long continued labor.

Neither should one enter the profession believing that a reputation for cunning and trickery will prove permanently profitable. God has linked indissolubly together virtue and reward. The lawyer who spends a lifetime trying to obscure the line between right and wrong not only grows weaker in character day by day, but he at last finds that he has lost the power to discriminate between right and wrong. The lawyer, on the other hand, who spends a lifetime in the search for truth, determined to follow where it leads, grows stronger in character year

by year and his advice grows constantly more valuable because the power to discern the truth increases with the honest search for it.

Just now there is a crying need for lawyers who, spurning the bribes of corporate power, will protect the public from schemes of exploiters. Nearly all the prominent lawyers in the great cities are selling their brains to predatory wealth and prostituting their talents to the service of Mammon. There is "room at the top" for lawyers with high ideals, mental strength and civic virtue.

Besides furnishing a broad field for the gratifying of a legitimate ambition within the profession the law is a training school for statemen—most of those eminent in statecraft having been students of Blackstone. The law is a broadening profession, for its members must not only deal with every subject which affects human rights and human welfare, but fighting their battles in the open they learn that truth alone is omnipotent.

It is not strange that such a profession proves attractive to young men of spirit, energy and purpose.

TEACHING

Teaching is one of the occupations which the race can not outgrow. Each generation must pass through its school period and there is no more important or honorable calling than that of the teacher. With some it is merely a stepping stone to something else, with others it is a life business. But whether it is temporary or permanent it affords an opportunity for real service. From the grade school up through the high school to city, county or state superintendent is a line of promotion which satisfies a laudable ambition, and besides the public schools there are the colleges and universities which are ever on the watch for teachers who combine knowledge of books with knowledge of human nature and whose enthusiasm enables them to inspire a love of study in their pupils.

To one who has reached the point in moral development where he enjoys contributing to the welfare of others the schoolroom offers great rewards. Few have such constant opportunity to sow good seed in fruitful soil as the teacher and he deals with those who are passing through the very springtime of life. Noble profession, great with possibilities of usefulness!

BANKING

The care of other people's money is to many an attractive occupation. It is a danger to the individual and a detriment to the public to have money hoarded. If one is sure that his money is secure it is better to deposit it in a bank without interest than to keep it at home, but the money can be loaned to such advantage that the bank can afford to pay interest. The banker occupies an important place in a community and can render great assistance as an adviser.

The temptation peculiar to the banker is speculation and it is the temptation against which he must steel himself. No one who handles trust funds can afford to speculate in grain or stocks or anything else. Until all gambling is stopped there ought to be a law making it a criminal offense for any one acting in a trust capacity to speculate. It is not sufficient to wait until a turn in the market has revealed his misuse of trust funds. Many a banker would have been saved from disgrace and some from death had there been such a law. The greatest danger in banking is that it may harden the heart. The banker becomes as accustomed to hard luck tales as a butcher becomes accustomed to blood and he is likely to lose compassion. The man who most needs money is the very one who finds it most difficult to borrow and the fact that the banker is handling other people's money makes it impossible for him to indulge his sympathies as freely as he might do with his own means.

To make banking absolutely safe ought to be the first object of the banker. There is profit enough in banking to permit of legislation making the depositor absolutely secure and it is probable that the money that would be drawn from hoarding by such legislation would more than compensate for any burden imposed.

The banker, like any other business man, is the servant of the community and he can as a faithful servant win an enviable position among his fellows.

RAILROADING

With the extension of railroads there is an increasing demand for honest, intelligent, steady and energetic young men for the train service. It is a skilled labor

that requires men of strength, quickness and judgment. The lives of millions are daily in the hands of the engineer, conductor and switchmen, and the higher the grade of men in charge the safer the travelling public. It is a service in which good habits and good character count. A dissipated man can ride on a train but he can not run a train.

The various organizations of trainmen have done much to improve the service and to raise the standing of its members. With the growth of interurban lines a new field has opened up before those seeking honorable and remunerative employment and the city traction lines still further enlarge the demand for reliable and competent young men.

With the extention of public ownership to these natural monopolies the terms and conditions of the service will be improved and the work made more inviting. The great army of men now employed in steam and electric transportation contains some of the very best and bravest of our citizens, and any parent may well prefer his son engaged in such work rather than an idle consumer of what worthier men produce.

JOURNALISM

Few avocations offer a larger field for usefulness than journalism and few are more broadening. Like the lawyer the journalist is constantly engaged in intellectual combats and his wits are sharpened by the keenness of his adversary. The journalist deals with every question that affects humanity and is trained to look upon all sides of a subject. The business side of journalism offers large rewards for recognized capacity; the reportorial side is furnishing mental discipline as well as remuneration to an army of young men and the editorial department is still more fascinating where the editor is permitted to write what he thinks. But nothing is more pitiable than to see a strong mind grinding out editorials which offend against the conscience of the writer. No one should consent to write against his conviction.

The greatest trouble with the large dailies is that they are huge business enterprises and the policy of such papers on political questions is too often controlled by the

counting room. As nearly all the great dailies are published by corporations, the public is often ignorant of the real owner and sometimes those who desire to exploit the public take advantage of this fact and secure control of papers for the purpose of advancing their enterprises.

The weeklies require less extensive plants, and a much larger portion of them are edited by the owners. For the reason that it speaks the convictions of one who can be identified, and has back of it a character and a conscience the weekly exerts far greater political influence, in proportion to its circulation, than the impersonal daily. It is likely that the daily will become more and more exclusively a newspaper, leaving the editorial discussion of political questions to the weeklies which are edited by their owners.

There ought to be in every state a weekly paper devoted to the advocacy of the principles of each of the great parties and applying those principles to state questions. The Commoner endeavors to apply democratic principles to national questions and to important state questions having a national bearing, but it can not possibly perform the functions of a state paper.

To one who desires to contribute to the advancement of his fellows by the improvement of economic, sociological and political conditions, journalism offers a most inviting field and the higher the ideal of those who enter journalism the more service they can render to the public.

MEDICINE

The care of the sick draws out the best that is in one. Next to the ministry it brings man into the closest sympathy with his fellows and the ministrations of the physician are even more universal than the ministrations of the pastor. While much progress has been made in the preservation of health and in warding off disease, a large part of the doctor's work is of a permanent character.

There is a good deal of routine in the physician's life and sickness has no respect for regular hours and yet there is a natural division of labor by which the greater hardships are borne by the younger members of the profession, who, for their own advantage, relieve the older ones. While one can occupy himself with the general

practice of medicine and feel that he is engaged in a worthy service there are many special fields which invite the enthusiast to all absorbing study. These special fields not only offer ample reward, but they furnish an opportunity to confer lasting benefit upon mankind. The country is aroused to a high pitch of excitement when the yellow fever or some other plague attacks a section of the country, and yet the victims of consumption, wasting away in their several homes, and the victims of pneumonia, stricken when in full strength and vigor, far outnumber the victims of any plague.

Cancer, also, and the diseases incident to childhood, call for remedies which cure or prevent. No one who has a passion for the study of this profession and who enters it with a sincere desire to relieve human suffering can fail to find both happiness and usefulness.

THE MINISTRY

The minister's place in civilized society is as secure as the place of the farmer who produces food for the body or the place of the teacher who devotes himself to the training of the mind. The moral part of man's nature is the highest part and those who consecrate themselves to the study of ethics and to the expounding of religion must ever occupy an honorable position. No young man need be ashamed to make the ministry his lifework, for whether he has a permanent charge, travels as an evangelist or feels called to missionary work at home or abroad, he is engaged in service.

There is a marked contrast between the young man who, worshiping God and loving his fellows, dedicates his life to the upbuilding of society, and the young man who wastes his life in selfish indulgence. If some pulpits exert less influence than they should in the moulding of public opinion and in the raising of the moral standard it is not the fault of their calling, but rather the fault of the timid preachers who shrink from the responsibilities of their position.

We need more servants of God with the courage of Elijah to cry out against wrong in high places and to smite evil everywhere. The minister deals with the heart and is conscious that the good impression produced by his labors continues throughout future generations.

The missionary finds an additional fascination in his work because he can better mark its growth from small beginnings. Believing that the ideal given to the world by the Prince of Peace is an ideal to live by as well as to die by, he finds delight in presenting that ideal both by precept and by example. If he meets with trials and hardship he soon forgets them in the contemplation of the time when that ideal will be accepted in every land. Surely the ministry is an avenue of great usefulness.

DECLAMATIONS FAMILIAR IN THE 1896 CAMPAIGN

The *New York World* recalls the fact that in its issue of December 31, 1899, it printed from the pen of Senator Chauncey M. Depew, the following very interesting essay on "Honesty:"

"Honesty is too much talked about, as if it were scarce in these days. The business principles of to-day are better, purer and more universally honest than they were in the days of my boyhood.

"I have seen many men become wealthy through dishonest methods, and my experience with them has taught me this: That most men who gain wealth dishonestly, if they live long enough, get poor again. It is almost an invariable rule; and it is reasonable enough, if you stop to figure it out, for it comes about in this way: A man employs dishonest methods and yet he becomes very wealthy. All his creditors know that his career is just a little bit shady as regards business methods, but he sails serenely along until a crucial moment arrives—a moment such as we had last week—when ready money, 'cash at any price,' was the cry of the maddened brokers.

"Then he finds his Waterloo. The credit which he might have obtained, the confidence of reliable, reputable firms which he might have commanded, are not forthcoming.

"The main temptation with which the ordinary business man of today is beset is the temptation to

misrepresent his capital or business prospects, and thus obtain greater credit. But don't do it; it does not pay. The old, old adage, 'Honesty is the best policy,' is the safest motto for every business man to follow. And I know what I am talking about, too.

"'Be good and you'll be happy, but you won't have a good time,' may sound very well and elicit rounds of applause, but it is a fallacy through and through. It is easier, much easier, for an honest man to become wealthy than for his dishonest brother, who may seem to prosper for a time; but, mark my words, his is only a temporary success."

The *World* intimates that in the light of recent disclosures, comment upon this essay is at this time unnecessary. That is all very true, and Senator Depew's poor old heart must suffer many an ache when he reads his interesting and instructive essay of 1899.

But this is not the only interesting declamation on "honesty" that is to be found in old-time newspaper files and written by men who, at the moment posing as the special champions of "honesty" and the particular "defenders of national honor," have recently been exposed as men who preached but did not practice.

The files of the *New York World*, say for the year 1896, will show that every United States senator and representative indicted for malfeasance in office, every insurance magnate exposed as an embezzler of his policyholders' money, every national banker detected in the act of stealing the deposits intrusted to him, every federal official whipped from the service in disgrace, every "frenzied financier," shown before New York's insurance committee to be a perjurer—posed during the presidential campaign of 1896 as one divinely ordained to defend the "national honor" and as one whose moral convictions were shocked because the democratic party in that year charged to be true the very facts which are now being revealed to the public gaze.

Nor must we forget that at that time the *New York World*—now so indignant because of the wickedness of these "defenders of national honor"—stood as their faithful and stalwart sponsor.

Andrews, the Detroit banker, expressed the opinion of the entire outfit of "defenders" when he charged that the democratic candidate in 1896 was "the dishonest leader of dishonest men." Since then it has developed that Andrews embezzled the money belonging to the depositors of his bank to the extent of $1,600,000. Since then it has developed that the men whose manifestos and interviews the *New York World* and other newspapers gladly and conspicuously published—and all in behalf of the republican party—were engaged in playing a gigantic confidence game upon the American people.

The appeals they made to the conscience of men were with the view of obtaining special advantages for themselves and new opportunities for graft. And for all their pretense and their bombast there was not, during the presidential campaign of 1896, a more stalwart champion and a more willing sponsor than the *New York World* itself.

If the *World* is now seeking to make amends, well and good. But it is to be hoped that history will not repeat itself with respect to that great newspaper to the end that, while today it is found denouncing the wrong-doing of the "frenzied financiers," it will during the next campaign be found lending its powerful influence to the support of the very element it now condemns.

PHRASES FEARFULLY AND WONDERFULLY MADE

The magazine known as *Public Opinion* says: "Yeller journalism, as exemplified by Mr. Lawson, seems to have about run its course. We note in the very magazines that have been yelling our national disgraces into the ears of the public a tendency toward constructive criticism. This is as it should be. If the 'literature of exposure' were carried much farther it would make us all deaf and indifferent. We do not wish to learn so much of evil as to believe that there is no good in any man. We know enough now to keep us busy with remedies for some time."

The disclosures concerning the corrupt practices of men who have pretended to possess a monopoly upon the virtue and patriotism of the country need not lead men to the notion that "there is no good in any man."

The truth is that these pretentious rogues have not been above suspicion. It was long ago openly charged that in 1896 they used ill-gotten gains for the purpose of controlling elections, and while they succeeded in their political efforts, it was no considerable surprise when the mask was lifted and their real character was exposed.

What fearfully and wonderfully made expressions some of these high class publications coin! What is "constructive criticism," anyway? Pretentious men have been exposed in corrupt practices; it has been shown that they have resorted to thievery, to perjury and to all manner of crimes. In the presence of such evils, criticism should take the form of vigorous condemnation, and should be followed by the unrelenting prosecution of the men guilty of the wrongs.

What *Public Opinion* calls "the literature of exposure" has not been carried far enough. It must be clear to every intelligent person that the half has not been told, as it must be clear to every intelligent person that the whole truth must be known if popular government is to be preserved.

Public Opinion says: We know enough now to keep us busy with remedies for sometime." What has become of all this talk of "publicity" with which *Public Opinion* and other journals of that class regaled their readers? Why, just at the moment when the people have obtained a mere hint of corruption in high circles, do these high class publications abandon their pleas for "publicity" and call a halt lest ordinary men, reared in accordance with the old-fashioned notions of honesty, lose faith in one another?

"We know enough now to keep us busy with remedies for sometime;" yet where, and when, have these remedies been applied? We see many members of congress, some of them indicted by grand juries, others actually convicted in courts of justice, and others, whose disreputable acts have been exposed before the insurance committee, yet all holding office. We see men high in the

councils of the republican party, and men conspicuous in commercial circles, accused of the theft of trust funds, of giving perjured testimony and of various crimes. These men have no defense; yet they are permitted to go free.

Why have not some of the remedies been applied? One reason is that we have not had half enough of what *Public Opinion* calls "the literature of exposure." The rising tide of public indignation finds itself checked by appeals put forth by distinguished republicans to the effect that we must not indulge in "hysteria," while publications like *Public Opinion* plead that "constructive criticism" be applied to existing evils. As "a mon's a mon for a' that and a' that," so a thief is a thief, whether he be the hapless wretch hurried to jail because he has stolen a loaf of bread, or a peck of coal, or the well dressed rogue of New York who, though he has stolen millions, is permitted to escape with his plunder and required to endure no more serious punishment than that involved in "constructive criticism."

THE SUBSIDIZED PRESS

There is one feature of the insurance investigation that has not been prominently mentioned in the daily newspapers, this particular feature being the revelation of the fact that the insurance companies employed "press agents" whose duty it was to secure the publication as "editorial matter" in daily newspapers and weekly and monthly magazines of articles laudatory of these insurance companies. Whenever public criticism was aroused these "press agents" were supposed to get busy and secure the publication of articles in every newspaper and magazine possible, the articles being printed without distinguishing marks and having every appearance of being the utterance of the newspaper or magazine.

These "press agents" seem to have experienced no difficulty in finding daily newspapers and periodicals of various classes whose publishers were willing, for a consideration, to sell their editorial space. There is a sinister significance about these revelations that demand

the careful consideration of the public. The press is looked upon as a great public educator, but it too often happens that a portion of the press is content if it can make financial profit by educating the people to believe in false doctrines. It has come to pass that some great daily newspapers are vast business machines controlled by men whose views are biased by the counting room's receipts, and who give little or no heed to the moral duties imposed upon them by reason of their position in the moral and economic world.

VERY "COMPLETE"

The *Kansas City Journal,* a republican paper, says that the decision of Judge Phillips in the United States court quashing the injunction proceedings instituted by the government against the Santa Fe for violating the federal law against rebates "is not only a complete victory for the railroads, but also for President Roosevelt and Attorney General Moody."

It is a "complete victory" for the railroads because they escaped punishment for their wrong-doing; and, in the opinion of the *Journal,* it is a "complete victory" for the president and his attorney general because Judge Phillips went a bit out of his way to relieve President Ripley, of the Santa Fe, and Paul Morton of any responsibility.

It seems, then, to be a "complete victory" for everybody except the people.

DIRECTOR AND SENATOR

In a newspaper interview Senator Depew says that the rumor that he contemplates resigning from the United States senate is "absurd." Yet Mr. Depew has resigned his position as a director in the Equitable Life Assurance Society.

It is generally understood that Mr. Depew has severed his official connection with the Equitable because of recent disclosures. How does it happen that while these

disclosures have been sufficient to cause Mr. Depew's retirement from an official position in the Equitable, it is "absurd" for any one to suggest that he retire from the United States senate?

Does it not occur to thoughtful men that what the magazine known as *"Public Opinion"* calls the "literature of exposure" has not gone far enough when a man who, because of certain exposures, hangs his head in shame in the presence of a commercial body, yet walks proudly and defiantly in the councils of men presumed to represent a free and intelligent people?

AMONG THE UNFAITHFUL STEWARDS

In its issue of November 23 the *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* republican, printed an editorial in which it arraigned Senator Platt of New York because he accepted policyholders' funds for use in the New York state campaign. After convicting Senator Platt of "corruption" the *Inter-Ocean* in that same editorial said:

> "The case was not the same as were the gifts in aid of the national campaign against free silver and repudiation. The success of Mr. Bryan would have endangered the property of the policyholders. Those gifts met a real danger, although in an irregular and morally unjustifiable way."

W. B. Clarkson of Albert Lea, Minn., has written to the editor of the*Inter-Ocean* the following letter:

> "I have read with some interest a recent editorial in the *Inter-Ocean* entitled 'The Unfaithful Stewards.' You ask the pertinent question, 'Now what legislation really hostile to the policyholders could be enacted?' and then you proceed to answer your question, and to my mind you make a most complete answer. Your reasoning is splendid, and is an unanswerable argument. A little further along in your editorial you say: 'The case was not the same as with the gifts in aid of the national campaign against

silver and repudiation. The success of Mr. Bryan would have endangered the property of the policyholders. Those gifts met a real danger, though in an irregular and morally unjustifiable way.'

"It would be of considerable interest to one of your readers, at least, if you would explain fully, by what process of reasoning you arrive at two conclusions that are so much opposed to each other? Do you assume that the policyholders in question are all republicans? Or to put it better, do you assume that all the policyholders are of the same mind in regard to the proper solution of the silver issue? Did it occur to you that Senator Platt and his kind could take the view, and that honestly too, that they had a perfect right to do the thinking for the policyholders, and that they were justified in putting money into the hands of one political party, and help elect its candidates to office in the state, and thereby shut off any hostile legislation? I repeat, could not Thomas C. Platt have determined his course in this regard by the same process of reasoning that you assume to speak for the policyholders in their supposed desires about the results of the national campaign of 1896?

"If you choose to explain yourself in answer to this question, I should be pleased to be enlightened on the subject."

If any one has observed that the *Inter-Ocean* editor has replied to Mr. Clarkson, THE COMMONER would be pleased to be informed on the point.

Bad as Platt's practices were, republican editors who are not prepared to condemn the acceptance by the republican national committee of funds stolen just as Platt's campaign funds were stolen, will do well to "let well enough alone." Thievery is thievery. When Platt said "the use of these contributions in the election puts the candidates under obligations not to attack the interests supporting them" he admitted the obligations he assumed for himself and his associates in accepting those contributions. At the same time he gave an accurate

description of the expectations entertained by the men who contributed several hundred thousand dollars of stolen funds to the republican national committee.

Everyone knows that the men who contributed to Cortelyou were no more interested in national honor than were the men who contributed to Platt interested in the honor of the Empire state. All of these men contributed liberally to the republican national committee and to the republican state committee money stolen from the trust funds committed to their care; and as the *Inter-Ocean* says of the men responsible for the misappropriation in the New York state campaign affair, so it may be said of all the men concerned in the contributions to the republican national committee "for them there can be nothing but the condemnation given to the unfaithful steward."

ELECT THE POSTMASTER

The Washington correspondent for the *Houston* (Texas) *Post* says that many republican members of congress are indignant because of "the new plan of the president and the postmaster general to ignore congressional recommendations as to the postmasterships." This correspondent adds: "So angry are some of the influential members of the majority that they are talking of introducing legislation providing for the election of postmasters in cities of more than 20,000 inhabitants."

Why not adopt this proposed reform, for it would, indeed, be a reform?

Why not elect postmasters not only in cities of more than 20,000 inhabitants, but in all towns?

Doubtless some republican congressmen are very angry at the president, but it is not likely that a republican congress will carry out the threat. It is not likely that a republican congress will willingly do anything to place any feature of the government more directly than it now is in the control of the people.

Why should a president be permitted to turn the postoffice department into a partisan machine and use thousands of postmasters as paid agents to advance his political fortunes? He should not. Why should a member

of congress be permitted to build up a personal organization composed of the postmasters recommended by him but paid by the government and use this organization to defeat other congressional aspirants in his own party? He should not. Why should a chief executive be permitted to fill the most frequented office in the community with a postmaster objectionable to the community and reward him for his services with the money paid in by the community? He should not. Why should the "Great Father at Washington," as the Indians call him, be permitted to electioneer among the colored voters of the north by appointing black postmasters in the south against the protest of the patrons of the office? He should not. And yet all these things are openly and notoriously done today. The election of postmasters by the people whom they are to serve will correct all these abuses. It is in harmony with democratic principles; it is consistent with the doctrine of local self-government. What objection can be raised to it? Can a president know the aspirants more intimately than the community and better judge of their qualifications? Is he more interested than the community in prompt, honest and efficient service? By leaving the appointment, the removal and rejection for cause in the hands of the president, by restricting appointment to a list furnished by the community, the rights and interests of both the federal government and the various communities can be protected. Presidents and congressmen will then run on their own merits and not on the machines which they have built up; the public service will be improved and communities will be protected from the impositions that are now practiced upon them.

"GRASP IT LIKE A MAN OF METTLE"

Attorney General Moody has issued to all United States district attorneys a letter of instruction in which he calls upon them to enforce the anti-rebate law known as the Elkins act. The attorney general calls attention to the fact that the Elkins act provides punishment by fine and also provides for the prohibition of rebates through the injunction process. The attorney general calls upon the district attorneys to diligently investigate, and in

every case in which sufficient evidence may be secured, to submit that evidence to the grand jury with a view of securing an indictment. He says that it is desirable that indictments be returned both against the shipper and the carrier. Pointing out that under the Elkins law the only penalty is a fine the attorney general says that in all cases where the evidence would warrant it an indictment for conspiracy to commit an offense against the United States based upon section 5440 of the Revised Statutes should be obtained. He cites a decision of the supreme court in which it was held that a conspiracy to commit a crime itself punishable by fine is punishable by imprisonment, and he says that in the event of a conviction upon a charge of conspiracy the district attorney should present to the court the desirability of inflicting the penalty of imprisonment "to the end that these unlawful practices which have received almost universal condemnation may be discouraged and prevented as far as existing laws will accomplish that result."

That is the plainest kind of talk and just at this time it will be entirely agreeable to the American people. Walter Wellman, Washington corespondent for the *Chicago Record-Herald,* says that this is "the cracker on the whip which the president is wielding over the railroads," and that officials who may be caught in the net now thrown out are to be prosecuted not under the Elkins law which provides for fine only, but for conspiracy with terms of imprisonment staring them in the face if they are convicted.

It is to be hoped that President Roosevelt will act on such lines as these, not merely for the purpose of winning his point with respect to a particular piece of legislation, but in the effort to require influential men to give some consideration to public interests. Mr. Roosevelt will find that he will not make material progress in any serious campaign against the special interests by feather-duster blows. Although it may seem that the representatives of special interests are all-powerful, they can not long withstand a determined campaign waged by a faithful public official who is backed by public sentiment. To a feather-duster blow these representatives of special interests retort very smartly and they display a thorough contempt

for law and authority. But they were crushed in Jackson's time, and they will be crushed in Roosevelt's time if the patriotic and determined methods employed by Jackson are brought into use.

The president and his attorney general deserve commendation for the order referred to. It is to be hoped they will adhere to this policy all along the line. These rich and influential law breakers deserve no more consideration at the hands of the authorities than the cheapest of criminals. Move against them at every point, Mr. President. The people are with you. Treat them as they deserve to be treated—just as the commonest criminal is treated. And in waging your campaign against these law-defying men remember that

"Tender handed stroke a nettle
And it stings for your pains;
Grasp it like a man of mettle
And it soft as silk remains."

TRANSPORTING THE MAILS

In his annual report Postmaster General Cortelyou makes some interesting suggestions as to the plan of cutting down the postal deficiency. In this report Mr. Cortelyou devotes considerable attention to the question whether "a substantial saving in the cost of railway mail transportation could be accomplished by forwarding bulky periodicals and mail merchandise by fast freight instead of what is known as fast mail, and by providing that such matter as would ordinarily go by fast freight under this plan should pay extra postage whenever transmitted by fast mail."

Is it not a bit strange that Mr. Cortelyou in his recommendations did not touch upon the expenditures made to railroad companies for mail transportation? According to Mr. Castle, former auditor of the postoffice department, the government paid during the year 1904 the sum of $46,000,000 for the transportation of the mails. Mr. Castle says that at least five million dollars of this sum represented graft. He declares that under the item of

"the rent of mail cars" more is paid annually for the bare use of the cars than the cars cost in the first place. It would seem that in his dignified annual report Mr. Cortelyou might have given some attention to the absorption of postal revenues by the railroads. In that report he makes many recommendations. He even goes so far out of his way as to indorse the ship subsidy scheme which he calls "a means of nationalizing the country's foreign mail service."

Although the attention of the authorities was long ago called to the extortion practiced upon the government by the railroads in the carrying of the mails, no one in authority has so far made any serious effort to protect the public interests in this respect. This subject is of such great importance that President Roosevelt might well be pardoned for sending to congress a special message relating to it.

NEW YEAR'S GREETING

On the first day of the year the average man "puts on the dauntless spirit of resolution"—resolution that in all too many instances of frail human endeavor is burdened with the mental reservation of "committing the oldest kind of sin in the newest kind of ways."

Some one has written that "good resolutions are a pleasant crop to sow. The seed springs up so readily and the blossoms open so soon with such a brave show, especially at first. But when the time of flowers has passed, what as to the fruit?" And the methods of obtaining "the fruit" were pointed out by another when he wrote, "The nerve which never relaxes—the eye which never blanches—the thought which never wanders—the purpose which never wavers—these are the masters of victory."

At this threshold of another year, let us extend to one another the greetings of the season.

First, here's to the maker of good resolutions. When "the time of flowers" has passed may he be able to congratulate himself that he has ever kept in touch with "the masters of victory."

Here's to the hoarder of wealth who has steeled his heart against the appeals of the distressed. May he often be inclined to pity and loosen the strings of his well-filled purse.

Here's to the business man whose life is crowded with perplexities that seem to overwhelm him. May he find relief in the charity of his creditors, in the prosperity of his customers and in the bounteous crops of this new year.

Here's to the parents whose thoughts are centered upon a vacant chair and a new-made grave. May they find balm in Gilead in the tender memory of the little one that came and went away.

Here's to the mother whose head is bowed in grief because of the deeds of a wayward child. May her love and devotion find full recompense in the reclamation of the wayward one.

Here's to the poor whose pocketbooks and coal bins are empty; and to the rich who imagine that they are not their brother's keeper. May the coal bins soon be filled. May the pocketbooks soon be replenished. May the poor become richer while the rich become wealthier by the cultivation of generous impulses.

Here's to the gray-haired men and women. In this new year may their juniors display a better appreciation of their rights, more anxiety for their welfare and make ample provision for their declining years.

Here's to the employer of men and women and children. May he become more considerate of his employes. May he understand that the laborer is worthy of his hire.

Here's to the burden-bearer in every clime. May his burden grow lighter and may his strength increase.

Here's to the president of the United States. May the president and the members of his family be preserved from sickness and distress, and may his official acts be controlled with an eye single to the public good.

Here's to the United States of America. May they become the greatest of all world powers, not because of the strength of their army and navy, but by the force of good example. May this nation "return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the revolution." May

it have a new birth of freedom and assert at every opportunity, in act as well as in word, the principles upon which it was founded and to the cultivation of which it owes its high fame and great progress.

Here's to the lovers of liberty throughout the world. May they never learn to compromise on liberty's definition. May they not lose courage because of temporary defeats. May they stand for truth "unawed by influence and unbribed by gain."

Here's to the American citizen who thinks for himself, whatever his present-day politics may be. May he continue to resent the notion that those who have been "divinely appointed" to control the property of the country have been ordained of God to do the thinking for the people.

It is not easy to emulate the example of that fine old Kentucky negro, who, kneeling at the throne of grace, cast to the winds all thoughts of self and in the generosity of his soul prayed: "Remember de rich and remember de po', remember de bond and de free; and when you git fru remembering all 'round, den, good Lord, remember me." But in the spirit of this day we may, at least, join with "Tiny Tim" in the reverent appeal: "God bless us, everyone."

"WRECKERS"

Although the *Chicago Chronicle,* owned by John R. Walsh, posed as a democratic newspaper it stood for plutocracy and vigorously opposed every effort toward reform. The *Chronicle* opposed the democratic ticket in 1896 because, as it claimed, the democratic party then stood for "dishonesty." Not long ago the *Chronicle* formally left the democratic party and became a republican paper. In its editorial announcing the change, the *Chronicle* said that it left the party because it had become "a menace to the peace, the prosperity and the integrity of the United States and their people," and had "taken up with the radicalism of populists and socialists and obstructionism and cowardice of wreckers and demagogues." The *Chronicle* advanced the opinion that the republican party offers "the only prospect of efficient, intelligent and honest government."

Recent disclosures indicate that the *Chronicle* was not so strenuously opposed to "wreckers" as it pretended to be, and that it was not so thoroughly devoted to honesty as it would have its readers believe.

REBATES

In his message to congress President Roosevelt, referring to the fact that "it sometimes happens at present not that a rate is too high, but that a favored shipper is given too low a rate," says that under his plan "the commission would have the right to fix this already established minimum rate as the maximum." The president adds: "It would need only one or two such decisions by the commission to cure railroad companies of the practice of giving improper minimum rates."

This is an interesting suggestion. Perhaps we will be pardoned for saying that in The Commoner of November 17 the railroad expert who has contributed so many instructive articles on railroad rate legislation made the following suggestion:

"If congress will embody in the law a provision that any voluntary reduction of rates, without permission from the interstate commerce commission, will result in the establishment of that rate as a public rate for one year, there would be very little, if any, rate-cutting done. This provision should cover any rate reduced below the public tariff rate either by rebates under classification, false billing, terminal charges or any other method declared unlawful, and also rates cut openly in rate wars. The lowest rate illegally made by the carrier to be taken as the maximum of what it may with propriety claim from the public. No railroad can object to having its own rate standard used in making rates. If it accepts rates that are lower than those quoted in the published tariffs, whether by direct violation of the law, or by devices that evade its provisions, it is estopped from invoking the aid of the courts to declare them destructive of property rights. If this kind of a penalty is prescribed for illegal rates, and making it a penal offense to collect more than the maximum legal rate, which would be the lowest illegal

rate known, the secret rate would hardly be resorted to. A law conferring the rate-making power as indicated would solve the question, and the square deal would become a living reality. Under existing law railroads have a complete remedy against injustice. The people have no remedy. That is not a square deal."

WHY NOT UPHOLD HIM?

The *New York World* insists that the president recognize the fact that the $2 duty on Canadian lumber has "worked a double injustice to the country." The *World* points out that it costs $2.92 from Tonowanda to New York, the freight being 13 cents on each hundred pounds, and adds:

> "Why should the apostle of 'a square deal' be so solicitous about regulating this $2.92 freight charge and so indifferent about this $2 tariff evil? Even if he reduced the freight rate by one-half he could save less to the consumer than by lopping off the superfluous tariff. Moreover, it is hardly consistent in an ardent advocate of forest culture and preservation to blind his eyes to a tariff schedule which is daily encouraging the slaughter of the remnants of the country's pine forests. Why not a little more ardor in favor of tariff revision, Mr. President, and a little less excitement about freight rates?"

Mr. Roosevelt may be pardoned for being a bit solicitous about regulating freight rates, yet THE COMMONER agrees with the *World* that he shows too much indifference concerning the tariff evil. But while the *World* is calling upon the president to direct some of his attention toward the tariff evil, why does it find fault with him because he has given consideration to the freight rate evil?

Mr. Roosevelt has not shown "excitement" concerning freight rates. He might well be more radical than he has so far shown himself disposed to be. But it will occur to a great many people that it is strange that a newspaper

like the *New York World* can not give the president support insofar as the president moves along correct lines, even though it find it necessary to criticise his shortcomings in other respects.

Long ago we were told that the tariff and the railway rate questions were to be played the one against the other, and that while the opponents of tariff revision were to point out the evils in railroad affairs, the railroad magnate was to insist upon tariff reform.

It is not difficult to understand why the partisan of either side should undertake to carry out this program, but it does seem a bit strange that a great daily newspaper, pretending to favor reform, should charge the president with "excitement" when he moves for an admittedly essential reform in respect to railroad rates? It would seem that newspapers of the *New York World's* class might encourage the president in his proposed freight rate reform, even while urging him to greater activity along the line of tariff reform.

SENATOR AND MAGNATE

John F. Dryden is United States senator from New Jersey. He is also president of the Prudential Life Insurance Company. Testifying before the insurance committee Senator Dryden said that he received from the Prudential a salary of $65,000 a year as its president. His salary as United States senator amounts to $5,000. The *Kansas City Star,* commenting upon these facts, indulges in a bit of speculation as to which interest would prove stronger if they were to conflict in some bill before the senate.

Can any one solve the problem? Dryden as senator is the father of a measure pretending to give the federal government control over insurance companies. Does any intelligent person really believe that Dryden as senator would give his support to any measure that would interfere with the interests of Dryden as an insurance company president?

THE NEW YORK FIGHT

A New York newspaper referring to the republican fight in the Empire state warns Mr. Roosevelt that "if the party is to be regenerated from a corrupt and debasing bossism it will not be done by driving one gang into exile and exalting another gang to the seats of the mighty."

The "gang" which Mr. Roosevelt is fighting moves under the leadership of E. H. Harriman and former Governor Odell. The other "gang" is represented by Platt, Governor Higgins and the insurance magnates. While Odell and Harriman should be shelved, Mr. Roosevelt would win no victory for good government if he simply substituted the Platt-Higgins gang for the Harriman-Odell gang.

In this connection a New York dispatch printed November 23 in the *Kansas City Journal,* a republican paper, is interesting. The Commoner reproduced the dispatch in last week's issue. It was said in that dispatch that Senator Platt was determined to unhorse Odell and that in this effort he would have the co-operation of Mr. Roosevelt and New York's insurance bosses. It was claimed that part of the program was to put a stop to insurance exposures. It would be well for public interests if Mr. Roosevelt could crush the Odell machine, but it will be a sad day for the people of New York and a most inglorious day for Theodore Roosevelt if he unwittingly lends the prestige of his name toward carrying out the designs of the insurance magnates and giving new power to such men as Platt and Higgins..

HAS MUNGER BEEN VINDICATED?

United States District Judge Munger at Omaha imposed upon Richards and Comstock, two land monopolists, a fine of $300 each, and sentenced them to "six hours in the custody of the marshal."

These men were charged with the illegal fencing of government land.

Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock publicly expressed great indignation because of the light penalty imposed upon these violators of law, and Judge Munger publicly retorted:

> "You may quote me as saying, however, that I think the result which the government hoped to attain has been effected. The indictments and the prosecution was primarily for the purpose of obliging ranchmen to abandon their unlawful fences. Now the enclosing of the public domain is not a crime per se. It is nothing more than a statutory offense.
>
> "In view of this fact and of the additional fact that the defendants declared that they had removed their unlawful fences in part and avowed their intent of taking down any fence which might still remain on government land, I believe the sentence passed upon them was sufficient to meet the situation."

Evidently Mr. Roosevelt was not satisfied with Judge Munger's explanation. He was not able to draw the fine distinctions observed by the federal judge at Omaha; and so indignant was Mr. Roosevelt that he summarily removed the United States marshal and the district attorney.

The marshal was removed on the ground that instead of keeping the defendants in his own custody he had turned them over to the custody of their attorney. It was contended in the marshal's behalf that the sentence was a farce and that the marshal was justified in so regarding it. The district attorney was removed in spite of the fact that he pointed out that the defendants had pleaded guilty and that he had had nothing to do with the imposition of the sentence. Spokesmen for the administration have said that it was not within the power of the president to remove the judge, so he dismissed these two officials by way of giving expression to his indignation.

Judge Munger's statement that Richards and Comstock were not charged with a real crime but rather with a mere statutory offense was laughed at by representatives of the administration and by republican editors.

Now comes Mr. Roosevelt's secretary of the treasury, Leslie M. Shaw, and with respect to his failure to prosecute John R. Walsh of Chicago makes a plea almost identical with that offered by Judge Munger.

Will Mr. Roosevelt dismiss from his cabinet Secretary Shaw, and will he appoint, as he did in the Omaha cases, special counsel to prosecute Walsh?

If Mr. Roosevelt does not call Secretary Shaw to account for his failure to prosecute Walsh, then he tacitly endorses the defense offered by Judge Munger.

If the position of Secretary Shaw is correct, then the position of Judge Munger is correct; and there being no fault to find with either position, then Messrs. Matthews and Baxter, the men who were summarily dismissed from office, should be reinstated.

Note the similarity between the defense set up by Judge Munger, and the defense set up by Secretary Shaw: The Associated Press, under date of Chicago, December 28, said that Secretary Shaw had declared that there would be no criminal prosecution growing out of the closing of Walsh's financial institutions. In that dispatch the secretary was quoted as having said:

> "John R. Walsh did not take one dollar dishonestly. He did no more than many other bankers in the United States are doing all the time.
>
> "The rumor of criminal prosecution is nothing but talk. There has been no embezzlement or theft. For every dollar taken out gilt edged security was placed within. The depositors will get every dollar they deposited, and when that has been accomplished, the responsibility of the government ceases. That part of the banking law prohibiting the loaning of more than 10 per cent of the capitalization to one man may have been violated. That is not a criminal violation and all that can be done is to liquidate the bank and pay off the depositors. The violation of that law by one bank is no more than has been done by almost every bank in the country."

Paraphrasing Shaw: Richards and Comstock did no more than many other cattle raisers in the United States

are doing all the time. Every acre of land which these monopolists unlawfully used will be restored to the public domain. The violation of that law by Richards and Comstock is no more than has been done by almost every large cattle raiser in the country.

The offense committed by Richards and Comstock was not a criminal violation if the offense committed by John R. Walsh is "not a criminal violation." The wrong-doing by Richards and Comstock was, as Judge Munger said, "a statutory offense" if, as Secretary Shaw intimates, the wrong-doing by Walsh is a statutory offense.

Let us take a look at the banking law, and see whether Walsh's offense was not a criminal violation.

Secretary Shaw admits that "that part of the banking law prohibiting the loaning of more than 10 per cent of the capitalization to one man may have been violated." He might have said that that part of the law had actually been violated. And it was violated for the use and benefit of John R. Walsh, the president of the institution.

Section 5200 of the banking law prohibits the loan to any one association, person, company or firm of more than "one-tenth part of the amount of the capital stock of such association actually paid in."

Section 5209 provides: "Every president, director cashier, teller, clerk or agent of any association who embezzles, abstracts or wilfully misapplies any of the moneys, funds or credits of the association * * * shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be imprisoned not less than five years, nor more than ten years."

Defining the word "embezzles," as used in this section, the courts have held: "If the president of a bank charged as a trustee with the administration of the funds of the bank converts them to his own use he embezzles and abstracts them UNLESS HE SHOWS AUTHORITY FOR SO DOING." Walsh had no authority for loaning to himself money in excess of 10 per cent of the bank's capital.

Defining the term "wilfully misapplies," as used in this section, it has been held by the courts: "It is not necessary that the party who misapplies should derive any benefit from the transaction." When we remember

that it is not denied that Walsh derived benefit from these transactions, it would seem that there is not the slightest justification for saying that his offense is not a criminal violation so far as "wilfully misapplies" is concerned.

Defining the same term, the courts have held: "A director violates this clause if, knowing that he has no money to his credit in the bank and no right to draw money therefrom, he obtains money from it to which he has no right by means of his overdraft made with intent to defraud, and converts the same to his own use in fraud of the bank."

When Walsh as president loaned to Walsh as individual money in excess of 10 per cent of the bank's capitalization, he was guilty of criminal violation according to the interpretation repeatedly placed upon the statutes cited. That he has merely done what many others have done before him is an old-time defense advanced in behalf of influential law-breakers. It is the same defense advanced in behalf of the men charged with the illegal fencing of government land.

If Shaw is right in the attitude he assumes toward Banker Walsh, Judge Munger was right in the position he took when he came to impose sentence upon Richards and Comstock. And if Munger was right, then Mr. Roosevelt and Secretary Hitchcock of the interior owe that federal judge an apology, while Mr. Roosevelt owes to Marshal Matthews and District Attorney Baxter prompt reinstatement.

As a matter of fact, Munger was wrong and Secretary Shaw, who assumes practically the same position Munger did, is also wrong. And if there is anything more than sheer buncombe in Mr. Roosevelt's far famed boast concerning "a square deal" he will be as prompt in removing from office the powerful Shaw as he was in dismissing the comparatively uninfluential Matthews and Baxter.

HUMILIATING

The New York insurance committee has done some excellent work; but many who have been prompt to express their gratification because of the good work already accomplished were doubtless a bit disgusted when, in the report concerning the testimony of Thomas F. Ryan who succeeded Hyde in the control of the Equitable, they read one portion of the dialogue between the committee chairman and the great monopolist.

The committee sought to have Mr. Ryan say just what Mr. Harriman had told him when the latter endeavored to obtain a share in the Equitable fortunes. The following dialogue explains itself:

> The chairman: "Mr. Ryan, the committee does not want you to think it is being officious in the matter."
>
> Mr. Ryan: "I know that."
>
> The chairman: "It thinks you performed a great public service and is only seeking to get you to complete that service."
>
> Mr. Ryan: "I still feel that I should not be required to answer."

What are the facts? Mr. Ryan paid $2,500,000 for the control of the Equitable. Honestly he would have received on that investment only about $3,514 in dividends. But in purchasing this stock Mr. Ryan obtained control of the Equitable and in controlling the Equitable Ryan controlled about $413,000,000 of policyholders' money.

Remembering that Mr. Ryan wields control over a number of other important monopolies, does any one for a moment imagine that he was actuated by any deep-seated concern for the public welfare in paying out $2,500,000 for stock which, legitimately, returned only $3,514 in dividends?

Men must know that Mr. Ryan had an axe to grind and that he wanted that axe ground very fine.

If Mr. Ryan had been looking out for the public welfare or for the welfare of the policyholders, his first act would not have been to select as the president of his company a discredited member of the president's cabinet. Instead of selecting a lot of trustees who, so far as the real power goes, are nothing more nor less than "dummies,"

Mr. Ryan would have yielded to the long-sought petition of the Equitable policyholders by actually mutualizing the Equitable.

He has established, so far as the interests of the policyholders are concerned, no genuine reform in the Equitable. For the double-barreled control of Hyde and Alexander he merely substituted the one-man control of Ryan; and, as one New York newspaper put it, where the reign of Hyde was "a public scandal" the reign of Ryan is "a public menace."

A NEEDED REFORM

In his annual report Postmaster General Cortelyou calls attention to the fact that during the last year twelve mail clerks were killed while on duty, 125 were seriously injured and 386 slightly injured. The mail clerks are engaged in a hazardous duty and it seems high time that the government take steps looking toward their better protection. It is a notorious fact that although the government pays a rental for mail cars that annually exceeds the first cost of these cars, the cars provided by the railroads are the flimsiest of all cars used. A majority of the collisions on railroads are what is called "head-on collisions," and as the lightly built mail cars are always at the head of a train the natural result is that they are usually the ones sustaining the greatest damage. This will explain in a measure why so many mail clerks are killed and injured. The statistics given above do not include the four mail clerks recently killed in Wyoming.

Men engaged in a work so hazardous as that of the mail clerks are certainly entitled to more than ordinary consideration. The least that the government can do is to insist that the railroads furnish mail cars solidly built, and equal to the heavy steel passenger coaches and Pullmans now in universal use. No private patron would submit to the extortion and poor service that the railroads practice upon Uncle Sam. And in addition to demanding better cars the government should provide some system whereby the dependent relatives of mail clerks who are killed while on duty may be provided for. The men engaged in the railway mail service are the most illy

paid servants of the government when the exacting and dangerous nature of their work is taken into consideration.

THE CRUISE OF THE GOOD SHIP MELDERSKIN

Let those who cavil at the slowness of work on the Panama canal hide their heads in abashed silence, and let those who express doubts about the canal's final completion step forward and announce their conversion from doubt to belief in immediate and triumphant success.

A few days ago the good ship Melderskin sailed from New York, laden to the Plimsoll line with just the supplies needed to push the canal to a rapid completion. It has been difficult to gather these supplies, and during the gathering process work has been practically at a standstill. In a few days the Melderskin will drop anchor at the isthmus, the cargo will be unloaded, and as soon as the supplies are distributed to the proper places we may expect to see the dirt fly in such huge and numerous chunks that the light of the sun will be hidden. Included in this cargo of canal supplies is the following:

Thirty-six work tables for ladies.

One hundred dozen high, best quality, latest style gentlemen's collars.

One hundred dozen turn down, latest style gentlemen's collars, best.

One hundred dozen, various styles, best quality gentlemen's collars.

Six dozen best silk pocket handkerchiefs.

One thousand pairs best tan sewed shoes for gentlemen, and 1,000 pairs best colored leather shoes.

Six dozen best quality gentlemen's suitcases.

Large quantity of Rogers' best quality table cutlery, quadruple silver plated.

Dessert table and silver spoons of best quality.

Case of 5 o'clock tea sets.

Five hundred umbrellas at $5 each; 100 shaving sets; 100 razors.

Twenty dozen ladies' night robes.

Twenty dozen dress shirts.

It is not difficult to imagine that when the Jamaican negroes are given quadruple plated spoons with which to throw dirt they will run the canal rapidly towards the coast. Every taxpayer will cheerfully admit that it is foolish to expect men to dig canals without being clothed in dress shirts, and only the mean-spirited would ask the workmen to walk in the trench with anything but tan shoes upon their feet. And how could we expect workmen, walking to and from their work, to carry their picks and shovels over their shoulders instead of packing them in leather suitcases. Once more, how cruel to ask men to work beneath the sun's tropic rays, when umbrellas are only $5 each! With 3,600 "gentlemen's collars" of the latest pattern there seems to be nothing wanting to bring the canal to a completion. But we are at a loss to know why only seventy-two silk handkerchiefs were provided. Surely that is not enough to go around, and certainly it is unjust to let seventy-two men wipe the honest perspiration from their brows while several thousands of others wipe it away with their fingers or common bandanas. This is the only apparent obstacle in the way of the immediate pushing of the work, but even this may be an obstacle that is temporary only, for Alfred Anderson, the purchasing agent, tells us that similar shipments to the one carried by the Melderskin will be sent to Panama every five days.

The canal commission has been open to criticism for its apparent slowness, but surely the dilatory tactics will now be abandoned and active work begun at once. We await with impatience the unloading of the Melderskin's cargo.

"UNCLE JOE" CANNON'S STRAW MAN

Even "Uncle Joe" Cannon has been disturbed by the popular discussions now going on. "Uncle Joe" has given a newspaper interview in which he says: "They say things are not now like they were in the old days; that we are becoming aristocrats; that there is no longer honesty in legislative bodies; that there is no ability at the bar; that we are liable to become a monarchy; that some strong man is liable to rise up and dominate everybody."

"Uncle Joe" is simply building up a straw man, doubtless because he prefers to discuss things of his own describing rather than popular complaints as they are actually made.

They do not say that there is no ability at the bar; because, manifestly, there is great ability at the bar. They do not say that we are liable to become a monarchy, because the people would not tolerate a monarchy. They do not say that we are becoming aristocrats; because most of the people find it difficult in these days of trusts to make both ends meet.

They do say, however, that the house of representatives over which "Uncle Joe" presides has ceased to be a representative body and is controlled by a coterie of men—and controlled for the use and benefit of special interests.

They do say that many members of the United States senate are nothing more than the representatives of great corporations, and that instead of protecting the interests of the people they are zealous for the special advantage of their corporation masters.

They do say that insurance magnates have embezzled the money of their policyholders, and that the party to which "Uncle Joe" Cannon belongs—and to which party he has so often referred as "the party of God and morality"—has repeatedly been the beneficiary of those stolen funds.

They do say that among the pretentious leaders of the republican party, and in the face of the facts clearly established before the insurance committee at New York, not one has had the courage to rise in his place and insist that his party organization shall restore these ill-gotten gains to the policyholders, to whom everyone knows they belong.

They do say that in spite of the fact that men of all political parties, and men of no political party, are demanding railroad legislation, the corporations are so thoroughly in control of the United States senate that even the president of the United States is unable to persuade his party colleagues to heed the popular appeal.

They do say that under the administration of "Uncle Joe" Cannon's party trusts have so multiplied that since 1896 more trusts have been created than existed in all the history of the country prior to that time.

They do say that with all their noise and bombast republican leaders have not given to the public protection from the impositions of these greedy concerns.

They do say that even now while the members of the beef trust are undergoing trial in the city of Chicago they are piling higher and higher upon the people the impositions of which the people have so long complained.

They do say that under the republican administration a few men have come to monopolize the money and the commerce of the country, and, having the United States senate securely in their control, they defy those who plead for relief for the people.

They do say that under republican administration men powerful in republican party circles have been permitted to escape prosecution for the violation of law.

They do say that the republican party has elected to the house of representatives and to the United States senate many unworthy men, some of whom have been indicted, others of whom have been exposed in various ways, but none of whom have been called upon by republican leaders to surrender the high commissions they hold.

They do say that "Uncle Joe" Cannon's party is so completely in control of the trusts that it will give no heed to the strong appeal made by the rank and file of the party to the effect that the shelter which the trusts find in the tariff be removed.

They do say that there is something rotten in the republican party's management of the Panama canal, just as there was something rotten in the republican party's management of the postoffice department, of the interior department and of other branches of the federal service.

They do say that the republican party is the representative of special interests; that it may be depended upon to increase the wealth of the few at the expense of the many; and that at the hands of that political organization men who demand equal rights to all and special privileges to none have nothing to expect.

These are only a few of the things "they do say." Let "Uncle Joe" Cannon employ his lingo in explanation of these things.

WARRING ON ROOSEVELT

Some of Mr. Roosevelt's friends profess to be greatly disturbed over a circular in which the president is criticised for the disaster he is alleged to be bringing upon the republican party. "What does President Roosevelt and his political advisers intend to do with the republican party?" is the chief question in this circular.

The *Omaha Bee,* a republican paper, referring to this circular says:

> "Reading between the lines, the disquisition on Roosevelt's relations to the republican party is manifestly an attempt to pave the way for members of congress that are affiliated with corporations to find an excuse for side-stepping on the question of railway regulation and other vital issues in the advocacy of which President Roosevelt simply voices the known sentiment of the American people."

Mr. Roosevelt's friends need not be alarmed by any attacks of this character. He will be judged by the American people who are considerably more interested in knowing what Mr. Roosevelt will do for the people than they are in knowing "what Mr. Roosevelt intends to do with the republican party."

Such attacks as these will not pave the way for members of congress to "side-step" on the question of railway regulation. Criticisms of the president made from the standpoint of the republican partisan will not affect the situation either by way of providing an excuse to "side-stepping" republican members or by way of injuring Mr. Roosevelt's prestige in the great reforms he has publicly sanctioned.

Mr. Roosevelt's prestige in this respect may be destroyed. His present-day personal popularity may become greatly impaired, but this will result not from the acts of Mr. Roosevelt's enemies, but by the acts of Mr.

Roosevelt himself. The simple truth is that what Mr. Roosevelt's friends have to fear more than anything else is Mr. Roosevelt's disposition to compromise. It is Mr. Roosevelt's tendency to yield in serious battles for reform, giving to the opposition all substantial results while reserving for himself sufficient margin upon which his newspaper champions may claim a victory for the public interests. Of course it would be an approach to lese majeste for any one to intimate, in the vernacular which Mr. Roosevelt understands so well—and in which he occasionally indulges—that he is "a quitter." But in spite of all his boasted fearlessness and independence he has, since he entered the White House, frequently shown himself to be a mere man.

While the *Omaha Bee* is claiming that Mr. Roosevelt is being attacked by members of his own party because of his devotion to public interests, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*—another republican paper—assures us that "the republican line is solid," and that even Senator Elkins may be depended upon to give support to a railway rate measure that will be satisfactory to Mr. Roosevelt.

There are many men in this country who, having a very kindly feeling for Theodore Roosevelt, have not satisfied themselves whether he may be depended upon to stand resolutely and seriously in behalf of the people against the encroachments of powerful interests. He is undergoing trial today and those who, regardless of political prejudice, have given him support hope that he will acquit himself proudly.

There are, however, disquieting rumors and some very good friends of the president fear that as a result of railway rate agitation the president and the republican congress will agree on a measure which will represent not the wishes of the American people nor the views so often expressed by Mr. Roosevelt, but will represent the will of the railroad magnate and will fail to provide the people with material relief even so far as actual railroad regulation could give relief.

It is significant that so far as results to the public are concerned Mr. Roosevelt has made small progress in his boasted campaign against special interests. His proceed-

ings with respect to rebates have been characterized by a disposition to ignore the law where influential republicans were involved, and his policy with respect to that law has been so variable that where he makes what would seem to be business-like moves—such, for instance, as his order to district attorneys to proceed under the conspiracy statute—his plans have neither inspired the public with confidence nor frightened the railroad magnate. His far-famed campaign against the Northern Securities Company resulted merely in a change of organization, and we find the same old men heaping upon the people the same old impositions. In the face of his prosecution of the beef trust, that trust has continued to pile higher and higher its impositions. Does any one imagine these men would dare to continue these wrongs with an Andrew Jackson in the White House.

WHY THEY SHOULD HAVE IT

The *Minneapolis Journal* declares that "the Filipinos ought to have free trade with the United States, but not because the beet sugar industry is not important." The *Journal* then discusses the beet sugar industry, but fails utterly to tell why the Filipinos should have free trade with the United States. They should have it as a matter of right and justice. If they are a part and parcel of the United States they are entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities. If the flag of the United States is their flag, then they are entitled to equal rights with all others living under that flag. If they are citizens they should not be discriminated against. If they are subjects, then the flag is a waving lie and our boasted republic is a sham. The Filipinos ought to have free trade with the United States, or else any subdivision of the United States should be allowed to enforce tariffs against any or all other subdivisions. In order to satisfy the ambitions and greed of a lot of exploiters we have plunged this nation into a serious predicament, and it is time that we begin the work of extrication instead of allowing it to be plunged in deeper and deeper.

The prestige of the president of the United States is great, and when he moves in a determined way to obtain relief for the public, he may depend upon the practically united support of the people. Under those circumstances the president of the United States need fear no man. Republican leaders may appeal to the spirit of partisanship, and trust magnates may cry "radicalism," but a president moving resolutely in the people's behalf will be untouched by any of these criticisms. He may, for a time, meet defeat at the hands of a republican senate controlled by the corporations; but he will yet triumph—provided he rejects all proffers to compromise with the representatives of special interests and insists that real evils must be met with real reforms. If he does not take this determined stand; if he yields to the pressure of politicians who pretend to be solely anxious for party harmony; if he prefers to become the political leader of a party undisturbed by concern for the public welfare rather than the courageous and uncompromising champion of public interests, then he will fail—and fall. And then it may be written of him as it was written of another:

"Let not Caesar's servile minions
Mock the lion thus laid low!
'Twas no foeman's hand that slew him—
'Twas his own that gave the blow."

A BADGE OF SHAME

The *Lake County Herald,* published at Painesville, Ohio, directs an open letter to Lake county's representative in the state legislature. It was reported that this representative had announced that he expected to receive a railroad pass during his service, and would accept and use such a pass. The *Herald* directs attention to the fact that this member of the legislature is presumed to act as the attorney in the state legislature for the people of Lake county, and that he will be required to vote on important railroad legislation. The *Herald* pleads with this representative to reject the pass, and to stand as a free representative of public interests.

The appeal is a good one, and it is hoped it will be heeded. The free pass is one of the great evils of the day, and no public official is in a position to discharge his duty to the people if he places himself under obligations to the corporations.

The battle against the free pass is not a temporary struggle. Unless we are prepared to confess that popular government is a farce, that battle will not cease until the pass has been abolished.

In the meantime let it be understood everywhere that a free pass in the hands of a public official is a badge of shame.

FOR THE GUIDANCE OF YOUNG MEN

A Pittsburg dispatch says that Andrew Carnegie will write a book telling the story of his life. This dispatch adds:

> "It is said that Carnegie will begin with his humble birth, trace his efforts to obtain knowledge from the library of Colonel Anderson of Allegheny, and give in detail his rise from messenger boy to the head of the steel industry. Several chapters in Carnegie's business career have been filled with bitterness. He has intimated that he will not shield himself nor omit his own mistakes in life. It is Carnegie's hope that the book will become a classic for the guidance of young men who have energy and ambition."

If Mr. Carnegie really desires that his book shall become a classic he will devote several chapters in showing the great debt he owes to the special privileges he has enjoyed under a republican tariff. Mr. Carnegie may find a hint of what these particular chapters should contain in an editorial printed in the *Chicago Tribune*, a republican paper, of May 18, 1902. The *Tribune* is not always so frank in dealing with the tariff question as it was on that occasion, but at that time it was reported that Mr. Carnegie had offered to pay $20,000,000 for the Philippine islands, provided he was permitted to assure the Filipinos that they would be given their independence.

Commenting upon this story, the *Tribune* said that the steel magnate "has tried the patience of his friends severely in some of his late bids for notoriety." It expressed the opinion that Mr. Carnegie is constantly posing, and said "he has scattered libraries broadly throughout the country, all of which are to be called for him, and every one of them is 'a contribution to the conscience fund.'"

Then the *Tribune* said:

> "Mr. Carnegie made his money in a magnificent way, but he should never forget that he made it through the undue favoritism of the government of the United States. Owing to the discrimination practiced in his favor by the tariff, he was enabled to amass a fortune of $200,000,000, or more, most of which came out of the pockets of his countrymen through the operation of unequal laws. Much has been said of the benefit arising to the workingmen from the establishment of the Carnegie works. The beneficent tariff system permitted the works to survive and flourish, but there are some people who have not forgotten the Homestead strike, nor the outrageous manner in which the workingmen were treated at the time by employers whose brutality has seldom been exceeded in the history of labor agitations."

If Mr. Carnegie were not possessed of enormous wealth the announcement that he intended to write the story of his life would be very generally laughed at. But even with all of his wealth the story will fail of interest unless the author writes frankly of the great advantages he has enjoyed at the expense of the American people.

To be sure Carnegie began life as a poor boy. Of course he was industrious, and for many years it was necessary for him to economize. But most of the men of this country began life as poor boys; most of them had struggles; most of them were required to undergo privations.

Carnegie amassed a fortune which is so large that it is impossible now to estimate it. With all of his industry,

with all of his painstaking care, he could not have won this enormous fortune had he not been given extraordinary privileges, and at the expense of his fellows.

If Mr. Carnegie will tell the true story, showing how he grew rich through a high protective tariff; if he will describe the methods he employed in persuading republican politicians to maintain for his advantage that system which, as Mr. Roosevelt once said, "is harmful in theory and vicious in practice;" if he will print a statement of the sums of money he has paid into the republican party's treasury in order that there would be no interference with his special privileges; if he will tell the truth concerning the terrible affair at Homestead—then there need be no apology for the publication of his book. Then the volume would prove valuable "for the guidance of young men who have energy and ambition." If young men would, however, profit by the lesson, they should determine to base their hopes for success upon their own honest and legitimate efforts rather than upon a system which takes from the pockets of the many to fill the pockets of the few, and thus makes possible rich men of the Andrew Carnegie class.

A FAITHFUL EMPLOYE

Raymond Lynch, known wherever printers work as "Judge" Lynch, has just retired from the employ of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* after service upon that paper for seventy years, lacking one month. Mr. Lynch wanted to round out the full seventy years, but ill health prevented. The management of the *Courier-Journal,* in recognition of his long and faithful service, gave Mr. Lynch a pension which will amply provide for him during the rest of his life. Mr. Lynch began work with the *Courier* when he was fourteen years old.

The Commoner makes mention of this for two reasons, first, because such long and faithful service is unusual. and second, because the action of the *Courier-Journal* in making acknowledgement of that service is an example that other employers could follow with benefit to themselves. It is impossible, almost, for a man to realize the changes that have taken place since the day Raymond

Lynch entered the *Courier-Journal* office as "devil." And in no other branch of industry has the improvement been more radical than in the printing trade. From the old handpress and inkball to the modern web press; from the old candledip and hand composition days to the modern linotype machine; from the old postchaise with its slow delivery of news to the modern press association that flashes the news of a day around the world in the twinkling of an eye; from scattered newspapers and few books to the modern newspapers and magazines and multiplied books—these changes have all be wrought since Mr. Lynch first picked up a stick and rule. Seventy years ago 500 an hour was the limit of speed on a newspaper press; today that many a minute is quite common. The span of Raymond Lynch's industrial career covers the most wonderful era in the world's industrial development.

PUBLICITY EASY

Referring to former Governor Odell's threat to "disclose how a large sum for campaign purposes was raised last year at the president's personal request," a New York paper says that Mr. Roosevelt will unquestionably welcome publicity. This paper points out that in his recent message to congress the president said:

> "But if it is possible to secure by law the full and verified publication in detail of all the sums contributed to and expended by the candidates or committees of any political parties, the result can not but be wholesome."

In the light of this statement this New York paper concludes that Mr. Roosevelt will welcome any assistance which Mr. Odell can give in turning on the searchlight.

Well, Mr. Roosevelt does not really need to wait for Mr. Odell; nor need he wait for the passage of a law requiring publicity with respect to campaign contributions. Mr. Roosevelt's postmaster general is chairman of the republican national committee. He can "turn on the

searchlight." While he can give all information possessed by Mr. Odell, he can doubtless tell many things of which Mr. Odell is in ignorance.

While waiting for an easy-going republican congress to pass a publicity law, let Mr. Roosevelt call upon his postmaster general to take the American people into his confidence. Let him tell them where the republican party obtained its campaign funds.

It might also be well for the president to insist that the chairman of the republican national committee, now serving as a member of his cabinet, shall restore to the policyholders of the various insurance companies the money embezzled from those policyholders for the use and benefit of the republican party.

ORIGIN OF "PUBLIC OFFICE IS A PUBLIC TRUST"

The editor of *Harper's Weekly* is in a peck of trouble, and all because he undertook to locate the originator of the phrase "A public office is a public trust."

Harper's identified the name of the late Daniel S. Lamont with the phrase under discussion, but being called to account by one of its readers, said:

> "We did not say that Colonel Lamont was the author of the phrase 'Public office is a public trust'—only that he adapted it to fitting use in a Cleveland campaign. The originator, we believe, was the late Governor Hugh S. Thompson, of South Carolina, who first employed the expression in his inaugural address in 1882."

A St. Paul, Minn., reader of *Harper's,* replying to this latest editorial declaration, says:

> "Daniel Webster, in a speech in the Odeon, Boston, seventy years ago, said: 'It is time to declare that offices created for the people are public trusts, not private spoils.'—Volume 1, Works of Daniel Webster, p. 335. It may be that the governor of South Carolina and Colonel Lamont drew their inspiration from the same source."

The man who undertakes to name the originator of the phrase "Public office is a public trust" has assumed a large task. In attributing the origin to Governor Thompson of South Carolina, *Harper's Weekly* does not touch the mark. Governor Thompson used it in 1882, perhaps just as Abram S. Hewitt did in 1883 or Daniel S. Lamont in 1884, as a phrase which had become so general as to justify its use without quotation marks.

Dorman B. Eaton, a New York lawyer, who became widely known by his advocacy of civil service reform, said in 1881: "The public offices are a public trust." But as long ago as May, 1872, Charles Sumner said: "The phrase 'public office is a public trust' has of late become common property.

The St. Paul reader of *Harper's* correctly says that Daniel Webster declared, "It is time to declare that offices created for the people are public trusts, not private spoils." Mr. Webster delivered that speech October 12, 1835. But on February 13, 1835, John C. Calhoun said: "The very essence of a free government consists in considering offices as public trusts bestowed for the good of the country, and not for the benefit of an individual or a party." So the phrase certainly did not originate with Webster.

Neither did it originate with Calhoun, because years before Burke, in his address on the French revolution, said: "To execute laws is a royal office; to execute orders is not to be a king. However, a political executive magistracy, though merely such, is a great trust." In the same address Burke said: "All persons possessing any portion of power ought to be strongly and awfully impressed with an idea that they act in trust, and that they are to account for their conduct in that trust to the one great Master, Author and Founder of society." In the same address Burke said: "In their nomination to office they will not point to the exercise of authority as to a pitiful job, but as to a holy function."

Thomas Jefferson in 1807 said: "When a man assumes a public trust he should consider himself as public property."

But among the claims with respect to the origin of this phrase, those of Matthew Henry are not to be entirely

ignored. Matthew Henry was a British divine, who died in 1714. He published a commentary upon the old and new Testaments. In the third chapter of the first Epistle to Timothy, referring to the qualifications of deacons, as well as of bishops, it is said, "and let these, also, first be proved." Commenting on this Matthew Henry said: "It is not fit that the public trusts should be lodged in the hands of any, till they have been first proved and found fit for the business they are to be entrusted with."

Clearly, the phrase did not originate, as *Harper's Weekly* says it did, with the governor of South Carolina, nor as the St. Paul reader says, with Webster.

Of course, the exact origin is not of the greatest importance, but it is a good sign that public interest has been aroused in phrases of this sort; and whether it comes in the words of Matthew Henry, of Jefferson, of Burke, of Calhoun, of Webster or men of more recent days it is particularly important at this time that elector and elected understand that, as Disraeli put it, "All power is a trust, and we are accountable for its exercise."

BETTER THAN "JOE MILLER'S JEST BOOK"

For generations "Joe Miller's Jest Book" has been a valued friend, the solace of many a quiet hour, and the inspiration for many budding humorists. Indeed "Joe Miller's Jest Book" has been something of a classic for generations, but it must now take a back seat. True the book that succeeds it was not intended to be humorous. It is only because of recent disclosures that it is entitled to supersede Joseph's book. The book in question is a small one and is entitled "Facts About the New York Life." Here is one of the jokes:

> "The New York Life does not loan upon nor invest in stocks of any kind."

If the point of that joke is a little obscure do not throw the book aside. Just be patient for a few moments and recall some of the startling testimony brought out in the

investigation now in progress. Then it will be to laugh—unless you happen to be a policyholder. After you catch the point of the joke, try this one:

> "There are six standing committees, approved by the trustees, which carry on the business of the company."

If you have read President McCall's testimony and the declarations of Confidential Lobbyist Hamilton the point of that joke will dawn with a force and suddenness that will be truly exhilarating—unless you happen to be a policyholder. If you have survived that joke try this one:

> "The company's money is never used, directly or indirectly, in any transaction for the benefit of any individual."

Of course there are carping critics who will declare that that is not a joke—that it is just a plain, unvarnished falsehood. And they will point to the testimony brought out in the investigation to prove what they say. But doubtless the eminent jokesmith who penned it thought it was a good joke. And it was—upon the policyholders. Having digested that one just cast your eyes over this merry jest:

> "No officer of the company can * * * in any way use the company's funds for his own benefit."

That's another good joke—on the policyholders. And the officers who have speculated with the company funds, organized bond syndicates and used policyholders' money as capital in the gambling transaction—doubtless they indulged in many hearty laughs. It is too bad that their hilarity has been so rudely interrupted. And here is another good joke:

> "The New York Life has for years believed in and advocated publicity."

It will take some time to catch the point of that one. Chauncey Depew is certainly its author. It has the real Chaunceyesque flavor, hasn't it? The humor of it may dawn upon you tomorrow or next day or next week. While waiting for it you might be considering this, the last one:

"The management of the New York Life is proud of the company's standing."

That wasn't a joke a few months ago. It is now, and people who have been keeping track of the developments will have no difficulty in seeing the point.

But, with these samples offered for your consideration, can you deny that "Joe Miller's Jest Book" is a back number, and that "Facts About the New York Life" is entitled to first place among the ranks of humorous publications?

A SERIOUS STUDY OF JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER

One of the most interesting contributions to American literature has just come from the press. It is entitled "A Study of John D. Rockefeller, the Wealthiest Man in the World."

The author is Marcus M. Brown of Cleveland, Ohio, who generously gives to his readers a somewhat lengthly biographical sketch of himself, together with many high sounding tributes paid to him by gentlemen having the honor of his acquaintance.

In the "foreword" Mr. Brown says that his motives in the preparation of this book are entirely philanthropic, and are prompted by the "spontaneous and universal sentiments of justice natural to the human heart." A very laudable motive, indeed. Having learned that that was the motive of the author one reading this publication would naturally expect to find some serious defense of the business methods employed by Mr. Rockefeller. But such a search of this little volume will be made in vain. It is, in fact, largely devoted to a presentation of the

unquestionably long list of contributions which Mr. Rockefeller has made to educational and religious institutions.

In the beginning the author says:

> "We shall in this book recite word for word and letter for letter full paragraphs from Miss Ida M. Tarbell's articles in McClure's Magazine by which she tries to reflect harmful insinuations upon Mr. Rockefeller."

It is noticeable, however, that the "full paragraphs" from Miss Tarbell's writings do not relate to the serious and the explicit charges Miss Tarbell has made against the methods of the Standard Oil Company and the course Mr. Rockefeller pursues in the commercial world.

Mr. Brown sings the same old song. He quotes from a college professor and from other Rockefeller champions articles, the tendency of which is to justify the Standard Oil Trust and its methods. And then he surrounds these with some of the most extravagant tributes to the "generosity" of the subject of his sketch, pointing to the large sums he has contributed to schools and churches and to unknown beneficiaries as justification for the unholy methods through which he has acquired his wealth. His defense is far from successful, but it is entirely characteristic of Rockefeller literature.

While as a justification for Mr. Rockefeller's business methods Mr. Brown's production is a failure, it is nevertheless interesting, and should be read by every one who desires to obtain the estimate which the average Rockefeller champion places upon the popular intelligence. In the beginning, referring to Mr. Rockefeller Mr. Brown says:

> "With his name left out, the history of education and religion could not be written."

So characteristic of Rockefeller literature are the statements of this particular article that comment will be unnecessary. These statements speak for themselves and they deserve wide publicity because there are some

people who yet imagine that when Coal Baron Baer proclaimed himself and his fellow-monopolists to be "the trustees of God" they did not expect the people to give weight to the claim.

In one place in his book Mr. Brown says:

> "Mr. Rockefeller, however, is a unique character; he stands absolutely alone. Every age furnishes its masters—its geniuses. The history of succeeding generations tells of their scholars, their artists, their statesmen, and their heroes, but here is a man like as to whom the annals of time are silent, yet what modesty, what wholesome public and private example, what kindliness, what forbearance, long-suffering and universal love has he! Not to speak of Christianity in particular, this country, nor even the world, can afford to lose such an object lesson for good, and the general elevation of mankind, as this man affords."

Again Mr. Brown says:

> "To say that he (Rockefeller) is the intellectual illuminator of the world as well as the liberal dispeller of darkness by his products, is not to speak of the greatest qualities of the man. Inasmuch as moral greatness is more than intellectual; inasmuch as it is more blessed to give than to receive, so the greatness of Mr. Rockefeller is greater than any of these."

Again Mr. Brown says:

> "He (Rockefeller) had few books, but he was shut up with what he had. Chiefest among these was the Bible, which he knows perfectly well; the spirit and principle of which he understands from beginning to end; and it controls much of his speech as well as his life."

But Mr. Brown appears to be fearful lest some man imagine that he does not have as clear an understanding of the people and of their intellectual capacity as he has of Mr. Rockefeller, and so he says:

> "The people at large misunderstand and misinterpret Mr. Rockefeller, not from any wrong intent, but because it is not the province of the public to

go very deeply into the philosophy of things that do not concern them personally; they have too much business of their own, and so are easily misled by superficial appearances."

Again referring to Mr. Rockefeller Mr. Brown says that he is adverse to any controversy in justification of himself, adding:

"He speaks in his defense only by noble deeds, and where they imply his own virtue he speaks even then not as one crying from the housetops, but in his quiet and straightforward way."

In the light of this statement one is tempted to suggest that a great many people will be curious to know how Author Brown learned about all these Rockefeller contributions so as to be able to make such an exact statement concerning Mr. Rockefeller's "generosity?"

Mr. Brown quotes from B. T. Quilling, a deacon in Mr. Rockefeller's church. Mr. Quilling said:

"He (Rockefeller) is condemned for his connection with the Standard Oil Company. Let me say that I believe the Standard will be recognized by future generations as one of the greatest practical benefactions ever given to mankind. I can remember when coal oil cost 40 cents a gallon and it was so poor and dangerous that thousands of deaths and terrible injuries were caused by its explosion. The Standard has made it pure and safe and brought the price down to a fourth the old figure. The Standard has created billions of wealth through the utilization of waste in by-products. It has converted a business which was utterly demoralized into the most systematic commercial enterprise in the world."

Again referring to Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Brown says:

"He is rigid with himself, and so easy with others. He is inclined to apologize for being kinder than his associates. He does merciful things as much under

cover as others commit crimes. He says the noblest words and does the noblest deeds with the most delightful unconsciousness, and perfect grace of modesty. He is a total abstainer from intoxicants and tobacco. * * * He is as patient as destiny."

Again speaking of Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Brown says:

"He is acquainted with no fear, except the fear of God and of doing wrong. Hating oppression, pitying the oppressed, seeking to overcome, not men, but evil, he is the embodiment of the self-denial, the courage, the hope, the nobility of the world.

"He speaks not to anger, nor to accuse, but to convince. He raises his hands not to wound, but in benediction. He longs to forgive. He loves to see the radiance of joy on the cheek of those he has been able to relieve. Mr. Rockefeller is the grandest figure of the fiercest industrial combat that the world has ever known. He will be one of the greatest and sweetest memories of mankind."

The concluding chapter of this fearfully and wonderfully made book is entitled: "The Author Pleads for Justice, Justice, Justice." He says: "To write of the virtues of the good and thoughtful is to me a labor of gratitude and love." He says that John D. Rockefeller is "one of the worthiest soldiers in the great battalion of men who have been hated in many cases by those they desired to liberate, and despised by many they are anxious to save," and who "for the good of their fellow men have accepted seclusion, slander and contempt."

Mr. Brown dares to tread upon the outskirts of dangerous ground by saying: "I have studied all of Miss Ida M. Tarbell's articles and have not found a single point that can not be explained as necessary under the circumstances and that is not in keeping with generally accepted business customs and which operate in the end to the public good." But it will be observed that in this connection Mr. Brown says: "Space will not permit of a detailed discussion here."

Mr. Brown started out with a good motive—the motive of seeing that justice was done to a fellow being—and although he devotes 150 pages to his task, on the 145th page he says that Mr. Rockefeller's motives may be defended, but he pleads that he hasn't the space to devote to their defense!

Then in conclusion we are told by Author Brown that John D. Rockefeller is "one of our intellectual heroes;" that "as long as civilization exists he will be remembered, admired and honored;" that "if to love others more than one's self is goodness, John D. Rockefeller is good;" that "if to live in advance of one's time, to be the first upon the ground in the direction of progress, is greatness, John D. Rockefeller is great;" that "if to follow one's faith and do one's duty in the presence of threatening death is heroic, John D. Rockefeller is a hero."

In one chapter Author Brown tells us that Mr. Rockefeller "holds it to be his duty to be the most wholesome example possible;" and in order to prove this point Mr. Brown says "in the discharge of a duty of this kind I have known him to sit upon a platform on a public occasion of the Chicago University until he was overcome by fatigue and the heat, and had to be assisted to his lodgings." A very fine instance, indeed, of self-sacrifice on Mr. Rockefeller's part! The American people could wish that he would "hold it to be his duty to be the most wholesome example possible" to such an extent that he would cease in his efforts to grind the faces of the poor; that he would call a halt in his course of pillage and conquest, and that he would set to his fellow men the "wholesome example" of one who is willing to live and let live, and who believes that the service of God is not confined to declamations in the class-room, but is possible—and necessary—in every sphere of life.

ROCKEFELLER'S BIOGRAPHER CRIBS INGERSOLL'S SPEECHES

Recently The Commoner printed a review of a book entitled "A Study of John D. Rockefeller, the Wealthiest Man in the World," which book was written by Marcus M. Brown of Cleveland. In his "foreword" Mr. Brown said that his motives in the preparation of this book were prompted by "the spontaneous and universal sentiments of justice, natural to the human heart;" and the concluding chapter is entitled "The Author Pleads for Justice, Justice, Justice."

A man so concerned as Mr. Brown pretends to be in obtaining justice to the living must at least give some consideration to a demand for justice to the dead. In Mr. Brown's own language "prompted by the spontaneous and universal sentiments of justice natural to the human heart," The Commoner demands public acknowledgement by Marcus M. Brown that, as the author of "A Study of John D. Rockefeller" he plagiarized the speeches and writings of the late Robert G. Ingersoll.

Perhaps Mr. Brown is to be pardoned on the theory that as the friend of the greatest monopolist in the world he was entitled to a corner on the thoughts and the language of other men. Whatever Author Brown's excuse may be, the record as presented by two Commoner readers, one a resident of South Omaha, Nebraska, the other a resident of Milwaukee, speaks for itself.

William Ricks, 602 North Twenty-second street, South Omaha, Neb., writes:

"The following reveals the extent to which Marcus M. Brown in his book just from the press, written in defense of John D. Rockefeller and his methods, purloins from the lecture delivered at Broadway Theater, New York, February 12, 1893, by Robert G. Ingersoll on the subject of 'Lincoln, the Emancipator.' "

From a lecture by Robert G. Ingersoll, February 12, 1893, on "Lincoln, the Emancipator:"

He was severe with himself and for that reason was lenient with others.

He appeared to apologize for being kinder than his fellows.

He did merciful things as stealthily as others commit crimes.

He said and did the noblest words and deeds with that charming confusion, that awkwardness, that is the perfect grace of modesty.

* * * * * * * * * * *

He was as patient as destiny.

* * * * * * * * * * *

He knew no fear except the fear of doing wrong.

Hating slavery, pitying the master, seeking to conquer not persons but prejudices he was the embodiment of self-denial, the courage, the hope and the nobility of the nation.

He spoke not to inflame, not to upbraid, but to convince.

He raised his hands not to strike, but in benediction.

From the book of Marcus M. Brown, "A Study of John D. Rockefeller:"

He is rigid with himself and so easy with others.

He is inclined to apologize for being kinder than his associates.

He does merciful things as much under cover as others commit crimes.

He says the noblest words and does the noblest deeds with the most delightful unconsciousness and perfect grace of modesty.

* * * * * * * * * * *

He is as patient as destiny.

* * * * * * * * * * *

He is acquainted with no fear except the fear of God and of doing wrong.

Hating oppression, pitying the oppressed, seeking to overcome, not men, but evil he is the embodiment of the self-denial, the courage, the hope, the nobility of the world.

He speaks not to anger, not to accuse, but to convince.

He raises his hands not to wound but in benediction.

He longed to pardon. He loved to see the pearls of joy on the cheeks of a wife whose husband he had rescued from death.

Lincoln was the grandest figure of the fiercest civil war.

He is the gentlest memory of our world.

He longs to forgive. He loves to see the radiance of joy on the cheek of those he has been able to relieve.

Mr. Rockefeller is the grandest figure of the fiercest industrial combat that the world has ever known.

He will be one of the greatest and sweetest memories of mankind.

Frank N. Berry, 1438 North Pierce street, Milwaukee, writes: "In reading the extracts from Mr. M. M. Brown's book, entitled 'A Study of John D. Rockefeller,' as published by you in The Commoner of last week I find that the author (Brown) has used almost the same language employed by Ingersoll in his lectures on Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Paine. Note the following:"

BROWN ON ROCKEFELLER

He is inclined to apologize for being kinder than his associates.

He does merciful things as much under cover as others commit crimes.

He says the noblest words and does the noblest deeds with the most delightful unconsciousness and perfect grace of modesty.

He is acquainted with no fear except the fear of God and of doing wrong.

Hating oppression, pitying the oppressed, seeking to overcome, not men, but evil he is the embodiment of the self-denial, the courage, the hope, the nobility of the world.

R. G. INGERSOLL ON LINCOLN

He appeared to apologize for being kinder than his fellows.

He did merciful things as stealthily as others commit crime.

Almost ashamed of tenderness he said and did the noblest words and deeds with that charming confusion, that awkwardness that is the perfect grace of modesty.

He knew no fear except the fear of doing wrong.

Hating slavery, pitying the master, he was the embodiment of the self-denial, the courage, the hope and the nobility of the nation.

He spoke not to inflame, not to upbraid, but to convince.

He speaks not to anger, not to accuse, but to convince. He raises his hands not to wound, but in benediction. He longs to forgive. He loves to see the radiance of joy on the cheek of those he has been able to relieve. Mr. Rockefeller is the grandest figure of the fiercest industrial combat that the world has ever known. He will be one of the greatest and sweetest memories of mankind.

BROWN ON ROCKEFELLER

If to love others more than one's self is goodness, John D. Rockefeller is good.

If to live in advance of one's time, to be the first upon the ground in the direction of progress, is greatness, John D. Rockefeller is great.

If to follow one's faith and do one's duty in the presence of threatening death is heroic, John D. Rockefeller is a hero.

He raised his hands not strike, but in benediction. He longed to pardon.

He loved to see the pearls of joy on the cheeks of a wife whose husband he had rescued from death.

Lincoln was the grandest figure of the fiercest civil war.

He is the gentlest memory of our world.

INGERSOLL ON THOMAS PAINE

If to love your fellow men more than self is goodness, Thomas Paine was good.

If to be in advance of your time, to be a pioneer in the direction of right, is greatness, Thomas Paine was great.

If to avow your principles and to discharge your duty in the presence of death is heroic, Thomas Paine was a hero.

FORAKER'S THEORY VS. STICKNEY'S PRACTICE

Senator Foraker declares with all the deliberation and earnestness of manner for which he is famous, that he believes it impossible for congress to provide a way for making freight rates which would be better than the method now in vogue.

Senator Foraker tells us that "the railroads employ for rate making the brightest and most skillful men they can find," that their work "is of a scientific character," that it "can not be done except by experts," that "they must, of necessity, meet as nearly as possible the requirements of their patrons," that they must, therefore, "not only make rates as low as justice to the railroads will allow," but "they must make them independent, so that shippers can with facility send their products throughout the entire country."

There you have the opinion of an expert who never made a railroad rate, on the subject of making railroad rates. What practical railroad man and rate maker would have the hardihood to step forward and contradict the ukase of the senatorial expert from Ohio?

President A. B. Stickney of the Chicago Great Western Railway, has, it is true, had the hardihood to offer something in contradiction of the senatorial rate maker, but as Mr. Stickney's whole life has been devoted to building and managing railroads, of course his work will count for nothing on the rate making question as compared with that of the senator from Ohio. While Senator Foraker is telling us that the railroads are employing for rate making "the brightest and most skillful men they can find," Mr. Stickney, the mere railroad builder and manager, is telling us that "it is unfortunate that the men who make the tariffs of rates are not mathematicians instead of fairly good guessers." While Senator Foraker is telling us that "their work is of a scientific character and can not be done except by experts," Mr. Stickney, who has had nothing but practical experience in railroading, tells us that these "scientific experts" merely "guess that if one rate is so much, another rate, in order to be relative, must be so much." Senator Foraker tells us that in his expert opinion "a better way may be found for making these rates than that which is now in vogue, but I do not believe it possible for congress to provide it by intrusting such a complicated, delicate and vitally imporant duty to any such agency of its creation as that which has been proposed." Then Mr. Stickney, who has only spent a busy lifetime in studying rates and building and

managing railroads, and has never had the practical experience that comes only to senators of the United States, says:

> "I desire to go on record as saying that in my opinion it is entirely possible to construct a tariff mathematically. It could be done easily by adding to the terminal expenses and the special burdens of each class of shipments practically constant quantities for the cost of hauling, which would be symmetrical, equitable and satisfactory both to the people and to the railroads. Furthermore a schedule made in this way could be printed in a form so easily understood that any man of ordinary ability, by inspection of the schedules, could tell for himself the legal rate upon any shipment he might desire to make. To the ordinary man the present tariffs and schedules are about as plain as Greek or Choctaw."

John Howard Payne, the homeless, wrote the immortal song, "Home, Sweet Home." Spinsters have written our best essays on "How to Raise Children." And Senator Foraker, who never made a railroad rate, steps to the front and tells us all about the difficulty attendant upon that work. It was extremely insolent of Mr. Stickney to interrupt.

THE PEOPLE KINDLY "ALLOWED" TO RULE

Grover Cleveland, chairman of the trustees of the Ryan stock in the Equitable, has written a letter in which he says that he is in favor "of such mutualization as will be real and genuine and at the same time will compel in the direction and management of life insurance companies such business ability, such attention and devotion to duty, and such honesty and alertness in discharging fiduciary obligations as well as promoting legitimate self-interest as are positively vital to the beneficence of such organizations."

But Mr. Cleveland says that he is "not blind to the fact that obstacles lie in the path of the proposed mutual-

ization which are so inherent that even with the greatest study and care they can not be easily overcome." He adds:

> "Mutualization and policy-holding control are pleasant to the ear, but in and of themselves they do not successfully import good administration or successful management. If policyholders are to be allowed control they should in some way be made to realize their responsibilities as well as their privileges."

There are obstacles in every enterprise where a considerable number of people holding interests are to be consulted, but mutualization as applied to these insurance companies means that the policyholders will have a potent voice in the affairs of the company. If they have that voice and exercise it unwisely, they have it in their power to correct whatever errors they may have made. If they fail to exercise the power and become indifferent to their duties as policyholders, then no one but themselves will be to blame for their negligence. The important thing is that this enormous power be removed from the hands of a coterie of men and placed where it properly belongs, among the policyholders.

What Mr. Cleveland says of mutualization as applied to insurance companies may be said, and has often been said, as applied to popular government. Paraphrasing for convenience Mr. Cleveland's statement, it may be said that obstacles lie in the path of the republican form of government which are so inherent that even with the greatest study and care they can not be easily overcome. Republican form of government, and control by the people, are pleasant to the ear, but in and of themselves they do not successfully import good administration. If the people are to be "allowed" control in the government under which they live ("allowed" is hardly the word) they should in some way be made to realize their responsibilities as well as their privileges.

The American people have often seemed indifferent in the past, but who—outside of the circles where princes most do congregate—will say that this indifference is

an argument against the people being "allowed" a controlling voice in their government? In republics the people are to be continually reminded that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." When they become indifferent they pay the penalty for their indifference, sooner or later and—sooner or later—their eyes are opened. What a sad plight they would be in if, when the truth dawns upon them, they find themselves without the power to remedy their wrongs. And so it is with mutualization and policyholder control. They are not only pleasant to the ear, but they provide the means whereby the persons most deeply interested in the affairs of the insurance company may protect their rights.

THE REAL REASON

Mr. McCall says that he thanks God that by contributing to the republican party he helped to save the country from free silver. If the testimony proves anything it proves that the insurance magnates were more afraid of criminal prosecution than they were of free silver. They knew they were guilty of fraud, bribery of legislatures, corruption of politics and misuse of trust funds and they felt safer under a republican administration.

COCKRAN RESOLUTION RECALLED

It will be remembered that at the last session of congress Bourke Cockran introduced a resolution providing for an investigation of the charge that he was paid money for his services for the republican party in 1896, and providing for inquiry into all the campaign contributions of that year. Referring to that resolution Walter Wellman, Washington correspondent for the *Chicago Record-Herald,* said: "No one imagines the republicans will permit an investigating committee to be appointed. They could hardly afford to go digging into the secrets of the first McKinley campaign."

The republicans did not permit the appointment of an investigating committee, and since the disclosures that

were made before the insurance committee in session in New York, even the dullest of men have learned why the republican party could not afford to permit such an inquiry.

"BE HONEST NOW"

Paul Morton, president of the Equitable, says he is not going to pay any more money to legislators to protect his insurance company. This reminds the *Syracuse* (New York) *Herald* of the story of the old darkey, never regarded as being at all particular about how or where he gathered up a penny, who dropped his pocketbook in a crowd one day. As the nickels and dimes scattered about, the old man began to scramble for them shouting: "Befoh de Lawd! let evahbody be honest now."

AN HISTORICAL EXCUSE

A representative of the *Philadelphia North American,* in his report of the meeting of the directory of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, which meeting was held in December, 1902, said:

> Beauveau Borie, one of the directors who attended the special board meeting, was asked for information as to what had been done.
>
> "There was nothing of any importance or of outside interest," he replied.
>
> "That being as you say, Mr. Borie, would it not be to the best interest of the company and all concerned to let it be known just what the financial matters acted upon were?"
>
> "There has been too much idle talk already. It is buzz, buzz, buzz, and nothing after all."
>
> "But, Mr. Borie, the public may think in view of what is talked around that something of importance was acted upon, and this belief, when the facts are otherwise, as you say, might result harmfully."
>
> "Well, let them go to hell. It is nobody's business what was done, any more than it would be if I paid five cents more for a newspaper."

That was merely another way of stating the opinion evidently held by Vanderbilt when he contributed to American literature the classic: "The public be d—d."

Whether it be the statement of Vanderbilt who is entitled to rank as a pioneer among the "trustees of God" or the statement of Borie, it is, as Mr. Lincoln, referring to what he called the arguments of thrones, said "the same old serpent." The same contempt shown for public opinion by Vanderbilt and Borie is felt, evidently, by the frenzied financiers and the great insurance managers who manipulate the funds of the policyholders for the benefit of the private exchequer of insurance officials and their friends.

Like those who in all the ages of the world have advanced arguments in favor of king-craft, these men "bestrode the necks of the people not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden."

Confronted with the protests of the masses in his day Vanderbilt said: "The public be d—d!" Reminded that the public had some rights in his time, Borie said: "Let them go to hell! It is nobody's business."

It is "nobody's business" that money contributed in the form of insurance premiums is used for the benefit of a political party whose leaders may be depended upon to sanction a continuance of frenzied financial policies. It is "nobody's business" that money belonging to policyholders is used in speculation in order that enormous profits may be gathered by a coterie insurance officials. It is "nobody's business" that United States senators traffic in the great prestige conferred upon them through their official position. It is "nobody's business" that fraud and corruption are carried on in the various departments of the federal government where contracts are to be let to those who will pay the largest bonus to the officers in charge rather than to those who will perform the work at the smallest cost to the public treasury. It is "nobody's business" that corporation chiefs conspire in restraint of trade, violate the anti-rebate law and obtain monopolies upon the necessities of life.

The common rules of morality do not apply to the champions of "national honor" and to the defenders of

"the business interests of the country." It would seem that these men are above all law—not only the law of the land but the law of God. What the public may think of their conduct is of no importance. The opinion of the plundered policyholders is unworthy of consideration. These men may violate the trust reposed in them; they may grow rich through misappropriation of funds confided to their care; they may violate law whenever the opportunit yto gain through such violation presents itself; and whenever it is suggested that they be held to account they seek to hide behind the "business interests" of the country; and all too often they are protected because men in authority give serious consideration to the threat that prosecution of these lawless men would result in commercial disaster.

THE SECRETS OF "LET WELL ENOUGH ALONE"

The American people during a recent presidential campaign became quite familiar with the appeal "let well enough alone." According to the election returns the people did not exactly know what "well enough" was at that time.

They have a better idea now.

They did not know that men who posed as captains of industry were in fact conspirators in restraint of trade. They did not know that the men who claimed to be "the trustees of God" were in fact seeking the opportunity to oppress the people. They know it now.

They did not know that Chauncey M. Depew, who pleaded for the defeat of the democratic party in the name of "national honor" was then engaged in connection with the Equitable Life Assurance Society in questionable transactions. They know it now.

They did not know that Andrews, the Detroit banker who charged the democratic candidate in 1896 with being "the dishonest leader of dishonest men" was an embezzler to the extent of $1,600,000. They know it now.

They did not know that Bigelow, the Milwaukee banker who, as a conspicuous official of the American Bankers' Association, pleaded for the election of the republican

ticket in order to save the business interests of the country, was a defaulter to the extent of more than three million dollars. They know it now.

They did not know that men anxious for the opportunity to organize great trusts for the purpose of preying upon the people had contributed millions of dollars to the republican campaign fund, and that during the closing hours of the 1896 campaign in the language of Thomas W. Lawson, a hurry-up call for five million dollars in behalf of the republican ticket was made and promptly responded to. They know it now.

They did not know that the purpose of the ruling spirits in the republican party is antagonistic to the Declaration of Independence and not in harmony with the faithful protection of the constitution. They know it now.

They did not know that the party which pretends to have a monopoly upon devotion to American ideals would adopt a colonial policy, would repudiate the right of trial by jury, and would enter upon an agreement that upon territory subject to United States jurisdiction "any slave shall have the privilege of purchasing his freedom by paying to the master the usual market price." They know it now.

They did not know that the repubican party would repudiate the purpose of its founders and turn its back upon the principles of the fathers of the government. They know it now.

They did not know that a republican administration would give sympathy to Great Britain in its war against the republics of South Africa—but they know it now.

They did not know that the republican administration would create colonies and govern them as King George governed the American colonies, adopting the very policies against which our own forefathers fought. They know it now.

They did not know that a republican administration would exert every possible effort to humiliate such faithful men as Dewey, Schley and Miles. They know it now.

They did not know that a party which pretends to be thoroughly business-like in its methods would engage in such a reckless expenditure of the public money that dur-

ing a year when the revenues were greater than during any year in the history of the government the deficit amounted to $24,000,000. They know it now.

They did not know that under the administration of a party which assumes, as the republican party does, a monopoly upon the honesty, the intelligence and the patriotism of the country such scandal and fraud could exist as characterized the temporary administration in Cuba or that have characterized the administration of the post-office department, the government printing office, the agricultural department, and the interior department. They know it now.

They did not know that a party whose representatives had so much to say in favor of "a square deal" would heap disgrace upon an honest official like Bowen while bestowing new honors upon a discredited official like Loomis. They know it now.

They did not know that a party whose leaders claim for it the title of "party of progress" would at the instance of the transcontinental railroad companies reject the Nicaragua canal route and adopt the Panama route, thus paving the way not only for endless delay but for numerous scandals. They know it now.

They did not know that when the people with practical unanimity demanded relief from extortionate freight rates the corporations would be so influential with the republican congress that such relief would be denied. They know it now.

They did not know that when the demand for the popular election of United States senators was so general that the house of representatives on four separate occasions found it necessary to pass a proposed amendment to that effect, the republican senate, acting in behalf of the special interests, would block the way to that reform. They know it now.

They did not know that while the republican administration was pretending to wage a campaign against the trusts a republican commissioner of education would have the temerity to issue a clean bill to John D. Rockefeller, the most conspicuous representative of the trust system. They know it now.

When the Burtons and the Mitchells and the Depews pleaded for the election of the republican ticket in order that business interests might be protected and national honor preserved and the government at Washington upheld they did not know that the Burtons, the Mitchells, and the Depews—in the senate, in the lower house and in the executive offices as well as in the great banks of the country—were not nearly so much interested in the defense of national honor as they were in the creation of enlarged opportunities for plunder. They know it now.

When these eminent champions of "national honor" and "business interests" pleaded for the defeat of the democratic party and pointed to the election of the republican ticket as the only patriotic course, the people did not know that "the hand was the hand of Esau, but the voice was the voice of Jacob." But they know it now.

A QUESTION OF LOCATION

While Mr. Bryan is in the Holy Land, he should not fail to locate the spot where Judas got his thirty pieces of silver, and erect a monument there.—St. Louis Globe-Democrat (republican.)

In the meantime would it not be well for the republican national committee to return to the policyholders of the New York Life Insurance Company the 148,000 pieces of silver already located by the testimony of John A. McCall.

THE GUILTY MUST SOLVE IT.

"Suppose," asks the *Minneapolis Journal,* a republican newspaper, "that President Roosevelt determines that that $48,000 shall be returned to the New York Life, who is going to return it?"

Is it out of place to say that that is a question for the conscience stricken?

The fund might be made up by small contributions from every member of the party. Or it might be completed by a popular subscription to which we have no

doubt many democrats who, while feeling no responsibility, would be glad to contribute by way of helping their republican friends out of the hole.

At all events, when stolen money has been located and the necessity for its return has been generally recognized, the burden of devising the means whereby the stolen property is to be replaced falls upon those who took it, and those who profited by the theft.

THE "FREIGHT" PETITION

A publication known as "Freight" and describing itself as the "shippers' forum" is urging the circulation of petitions, asking congress to adopt Judge Grosscup's recommendation, which contemplates the creation of a special court for the trial of railroad matters, the judges to be appointed for life. In all discussions of rate legislation, it will be well for democrats to be on their guard against an increase of the number of life judges. A court appointed for life and made up of men friendly to the railroads would postpone remedial legislation for years. It is better to trust the rate making power to men appointed for a limited term like members of the interstate commerce commission. There are two advantages in this: In the first place, the man holding for a limited term is not so easily controlled by corporate interest, and, second, it is easier to make a change in the personality of the board if a member does not perform his duty.

ENCOURAGING LAWLESSNESS

The Chicago Board of Trade has by a vote of two to one repealed a rule which visited expulsion upon any member guilty of violating the anti-option law. As pointed out by some of the members this is an open and direct encouragement to lawlessness.

A law prohibiting gambling on the board of trade is just as binding as a law prohibiting gambling at any other place and those who encourage the violation of the anti-option law are just as lawless as any other kind of lawbreakers.

It is not often that a commercial body takes so bold a stand against the enforcement of law and its action is likely to increase rather than diminish the sentiment against grain gambling.

PEACE

For his efforts in bringing about the peace agreement at Portsmouth, President Roosevelt has received many congratulations. The following are samples:

From the King of England: Marienbad, August 29. The President:—Let me be one of the first to congratulate you on the successful issue of the peace conference, to which you have so greatly contributed.

EDWARD, R. I.

From the German Emperor: Neues Palais, Aug. 29. President Theodore Roosevelt:—Just received cable from America announcing agreement of peace conference on preliminaries of peace. I'm overjoyed; express most sincere congratulations at the great success due to your untiring efforts. The whole of mankind must unite and will do so in thanking you for the great boon you have given it.

WILLIAM, I. R.

WAR

"If the great civilized nations of the present day should completely disarm, the result would mean an immediate recrudesence of barbarism in one form or another."

—From President Roosevelt's message to congress, December, 1904.

NO CONGRATULATIONS.

From the President of France: La Begude, Presidance, Aug. 30.—President Roosevelt:—Your excellency has just rendered to humanity an eminent service, for which I felicitate you heartily. The French republic rejoices in the role that her sister America has played in this historic event.

Emile Loubet.

From the British Ambassador: Lenox, Mass., Aug. 29. Secretary to the President:—Please submit to the president my most cordial congratulations upon the success of his efforts to bring about peace.

Durand.

From the French Ambassador: London, Aug. 30. President Roosevelt:—Heartiest, warmest congratulations.

Jessurand.

From the Chinese Minister: Amherst, Mass., Aug. 29. The President:—I beg to offer my hearty congratulations for the successful conclusion of peace, for which the whole world, especially the Orient, is ever indebted to you.

Chentung Liang Cheng.

From the Italian ambassador: Washington, Aug. 29. President Roosevelt:—I beg to offer you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Italian government and of myself, as representative of my august sovereign, heartfelt congratulations for your great success in re-establishing peace. Italy, who since her constitution has endeavored to be an element and factor of harmony among nations, will greatly admire and praise the work you brought on so advantageously for the benefit of humanity.

Mayor Des Planches..

From General Booth of the Salvation Army: Beg your excellency to accept my heartfelt congratulations on the successful issue of your able and persistent efforts in behalf of peace. The whole world, civilized and uncivilized, is indebted to you.

The International Congress of Reformed Religions in session at Geneva sent the following: "Assembled in solemn congress at Geneva, we congratulate you on the great part you have taken in the conclusion of peace. We all implore God's blessing for you and the United States."

The pope when informed of the conclusion of peace said: "This is the happiest news of my life. Thank God for President Roosevelt's courage."

From all over America and from all sections of the world came telegrams of congratulation, among them the following: Skibo Castle, Clashmore, Scotland, Aug. 30. President: Skibo guests thankfully congratulate you and the three continents upon the conclusion of honorable and, we hope, lasting peace between two great empires. May this war be the last between civilized peoples.

Archbishop of Canterbury.
John Morley.
Nicholas Murray Butler.
Charles Dabney.
Richard Harlan.
General Grant Wilson.
Andrew Carnegie, and others.

Note the contrast between the rejoicings over peace and the part Mr. Roosevelt played in the Portsmouth conference, and the silence which followed the barbarous doctrine set forth in his message to congress.

COERCING CONGRESSMEN

The *Chicago Record-Herald* reports that "scores of eastern congressmen and several United States senators, who have enjoyed the hospitality of the railroads for so long a time that they have come to believe it their in-

herited right, will have to pay fare on their summer vacation trips this year." It then explains that one of the most important eastern railroads has refused all requests for free transportation which have come from the senators and congressmen who were either in favor of the Esch-Townsend bill or were lukewarm in their advocacy of the railroad side of the legislation, and the *Record-Herald* adds that it is understood that other eastern roads are taking similar action. This is good news. If all the railroads would shut off the giving of passes to legislators, state and national, it would be easier to secure remediable legislation. The pass is a very demoralizing thing. It not only inclines the recipient to favor the railroad in legislative matters, but the carrying of the pass subjects him to calls from friends and constituents, who, knowing that he has a pass himself, insist that he shall obtain passes for them. In this way, the pass grows until the legislator is so obligated to the railroads that it becomes hard to refuse their requests. While the railroads always regard the pass as a foundation for an obligation to be paid in some way, they are generally slow to admit that it is given with the purpose of influencing legislation. The action of a railroad in withholding passes from those who vote for a rate bill is equivalent to a declaration that the pass is intended as a bribe. When the senators and members no longer ride on passes, we may have legislation reducing the amount paid to the railroads for the carrying of mails.

MR. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER'S CERTIFICATE OF CHARACTER

The Washington correspondent for the *Columbus* (Ohio) *Press-Post* sends to his newspaper, under date of July 24, an interesting dispatch. The *Press-Post* correspondent says: "Miss Ida Tarbell has made a mistake, it would seem, which the government is now rectifying. The commissioner of education of the department of the interior is sending out a series of sketches, entitled 'Educational Benefactors.' In one of the series is a sketch of John D. Rockefeller. His career is gently traced from

the cradle to the present. Not a criticism, not a single harsh word, not one insinuation against his motives has crept into the sketch. It is said that Mr. Rockefeller's attorneys are preparing to republish the government's official eulogy of their client as a complete answer to all that has been uttered against him."

It is explained that while the tribute to Rockefeller is being sent out by the present commissioner of education it was written by a former commissioner.

Extracts from the government's tribute to the Standard Oil trust king follow:

"The family, the school and the church were the centers in which his character was formed. In his home, prudence and economy prevailed; the Christian virtues were cultivated.

"In the church he was careful to attend the services, not only upon the Sabbath, but midweek also, and he sought to stimulate others to fulfill religious obligations, especially to pay off a church debt.

"He early began to appreciate the efforts to secure cheap lighting—illumination. Crude petroleum was offensive to the smell. He saw what was needed, and out of his school chemistry he was aided in devising methods of purifying the crude oil, saying to one of his teachers: 'I think I can relieve this substance of its offensive smell.' His efforts were successful. Whale oil was disappearing from the market; the new substance was soon widely demanded by the trade; fabulous results followed his efforts.

"As his income increased he began to use it according to the fundamental principles upon which his character was based.

"He met his obligations faithfully and adopted the habit of living within his income. Nothing was allowed to come within his observation which he did not question for some lesson for himself.

"He early found out that what he was to be must come out of his own ability and attainments and opportunities afforded him.

"His qualities were early manifested; he discriminated between the real and the false. He early be-

came superintendent of his church Sunday school and remained in that responsibility thirty years. His fondness for children was very manifest. His own experience had taught him how it might be used.

"His methods of giving may be said to be discriminating.

"No effort is made here to trace the variety of his gifts. There has been a natural recognition of relations. A worthy teacher who married a minister receives, unanounced, annual gifts, together with a house for her residence. In a multitude of unseen ways like these has his aid been bestowed on worthy objects. Unostentatiously he pays the expenses of a reunion of his school associates.

"It is of interest that the training of the family is yielding results like those displayed in his own character. His son, a graduate of Brown University, is already walking in the ways of his father, and the whole house enlists in the plan of benefactions which he is working out and which is promising more than is already accomplished."

Such a tribute as this might well be expected from Mr. Rockefeller's paid attorneys. But, however partial a political party may be to the Rockefeller interests, such a tribute would hardly be expected in the form of a government publication.

If Mr. Rockefeller's character was formed in an atmosphere where "the Christian virtues were cultivated" is he true to himself and faithful to his early training when he "grinds the faces of the poor?"

If he "sought to stimulate others to fulfill religious obligations"—"especially to pay off a church debt"—why has he avoided the obligation men must assume in the brotherhood of man?

If he "discriminates between the real and the false" does he imagine that the people can not discriminate between the false and the real? Does he imagine that they will fail to place a proper estimate upon the Sabbath-day pretenses of one who during his week-day career preys upon the weak and helpless? Does he think

the people can not "discriminate between the real and the false," even though an effort is made in a government publication to bolster up the false?

Surely "his method of giving may be said to be discriminating?" Is it unfair to say that Rockefeller places his "benefactions" where they will do the most good—to Rockefeller? Is it unfair to say that his gifts are distributed with the view of making public opinion more tolerant of the infamous system through which he has obtained his enormous wealth?

Rockefeller is the foremost representative of the system that is preying upon the people and against which public sentiment is now being directed by patriotic teachers. Recently Rockefeller's attorneys have been kept busy in the effort to paint their client as a patriot in the acquirement of wealth and a philanthropist in its distribution. For the purpose of deceiving the public Rockefeller needs, just now, all the endorsements he can get. It is not at all surprising that his paid attorneys give him certificates of character; but it is an insult to the intelligence of the people, as well as an assumption of authority, for the republican administration to attempt, through the medium of a government publication, to give a certificate of high character to the arch conspirator among all those who conspire in restraint of trade; to the chief monopolist among those who seek to establish monopoly; to the most persistent and painstaking plunderer of the people.

How effective will be the republican administration's "campaign against monopoly" so long as fulsome praise, in the guise of government reports, is given to the greatest monopolist of them all?

What a shame that Rockefeller should be held up as a patron of education when in every county of the United States there are men and women who give more of their time and, in proportion to their means, more money to the cause of education than Rockefeller has. In every community there are people who at great sacrifice are giving their time as unpaid school directors and patrons, but they are forgotten while the relatively small services of the oil king are magnified.

THE COMING DELUGE OF GOLD

Many publications whose editors habitually sneered at the quantitative theory of money are now giving testimony to the vindication of that theory in discussing what some of the writers call "the coming deluge of gold." The men who a few years ago said that the quantity of money was immaterial provided it was all good, are now afraid that gold is going to become so plentiful as to disturb business. It is all right for them to admit the correctness of the bimetallic position, for the bimetallists all contend that the volume of money determines the value of the dollar, but it is too early to get scared about an over-supply. As long as it is necessary to count the same deposits two or three times, there is still room for more money without disturbing business.

The Commoner invites particular attention to three articles on this line. One was printed as an editorial Wednesday, May 16, in the *San Francisco Chronicle,* a republican paper. Discussing "the increased gold output—its influence on prices and the world's progress," the *Chronicle* said:

> "It is not unlikely that in the very near future we shall find some of the uncompromising advocates of the single gold standard, who declared that the volume of metallic money has no effect on prices, revising their crude and hastily expressed opinions. The signs are multiplying that the tremendous and constantly increasing output of gold is the principal factor in the present universal uplifting of prices, and, despite what has occurred already, the belief is now finding expression in commercial circulars and in magazine articles that we are just seeing the beginning of the gold inflation. If this assumption is true we may witness a repetition of the conditions which once produced in Germany a strong feeling in favor of the demonetization of gold. Certainly there is more reason to apprehend a flood of the yellow metal now than there was during the years immediately following the gold discoveries in California and Australia. Then the dependence was upon placers, whose riches, it was understood, would

become exhausted; now the output is largely the result of a scientific process which compels the rocks to yield their wealth in constantly increasing quantities."

Referring to the rapid enlargement of the world's stock of gold, the *Chronicle* said that during the past eight years the world's output has exceeded one-fourth of the entire production of the preceding 404 years. From 1492 to 1896 the world's production of gold was estimated at $8,904,301,000; from 1897 to 1904 inclusive $2,354,049,500, an annual average of nearly three hundred million dollars. But, according to the *Chronicle*, this does not tell the whole story, and so it says:

"Since the cessation of the Boer war production has increased steadily. In 1899 it was $314,630,233; in 1894 it was $358,893,654; in 1905 it is estimated that the yield will be $395,000,000. There is no reason now for doubting that an annual output of over $400,000,000 will be reached and steadily maintained for some time to come.

"What will be the effect of this enormous injection of gold into the commercial arteries of the world? The question is receiving a daily answer in the columns of the newspapers, which record the flotation of enormous enterprises and an expansion of industry, not even remotely approached in the past. The announcement of the placing of $50,000,000 worth of bonds occasions less surprise and comment today than the marketing of one-tenth of that amount caused thirty or forty years ago. Railroad companies make betterments involving the expenditure of forty or fifty million, and a municipality programs an extension of its transportation facilities which will require $100,000,000. The pig iron industry of the country has grown from eight to twenty million tons in less than a decade, and the expansion in other industries and of commerce has been equally marvelous, as the bank clearings, which increased from fifty billions to one hundred and fifteen billions during this brief period of enlarging output of gold, amply testify."

Let those who have sneered at the quantitative theory of money read this frank confession made in the conclusion of the *San Francisco Chronicle's* editorial:

> "The United States doubtless affords the most remarkable example of the tremendous effect exercised by the constantly enlarging stock of gold, but its experience is by no means unique. Germany has developed in a notable fashion during the past eight or ten years, and other countries have felt the impulse. At no period has progress throughout the entire world been more marked than at present. Even the hitherto backward sections are feeling the reviving influence of the large metallic stock and are making advances which would have been regarded as extraordinary a few years ago. Under the circumstances it is not strange that writers should manifest a tendency to find analogies in the present conditions to those which existed a little more than half a century ago. For a while the soundness of these observations will be questioned, but as time advances a point of vantage will be gained from which a backward view may be taken that will resolve all doubts and thoroughly establish the accuracy of the contention that the quantity of metal of which the standard money is composed exercises a vast influence on prices and on the progress of the world generally."

Under the headline "Is New Gold Affecting Prices?" the *New York Evening Post* says:

> "The Economiste Francais of Paris, M. Leroy-Beaulieu's financial journal, published, a few weeks since, a rather noteworthy review of the latest estimates of the world's annual gold production, and of the outlook for the future. It reckons a probable $400,000,000 production for 1905 as against the $358,800,000 estimated for 1904, the $325,527,000 in 1903, and the $202,251,000 as recently as 1896. The article questions continued increase at this pace, but shows why it is at all events possible, and adds a word on the relations of such a movement, in the writer's opinion, to prices."

Then follows an extract from this French writer's article in which he intimates, although he is unwilling to expressly predict, that ten years hence the gold production will be twice as large as it is today.

In *Public Opinion* for May 6, Henry C. Nicholas has an article entitled "The Coming Deluge of Gold." Mr. Nicholas says that the production of gold during recent years has been "nothing less than marvelous and reads almost like a fairy tale." He attributes much of the enormous increase of gold during recent years to the improved methods of mining, and he says "there is every indication that the production during the next decade will be even more stupendous, and that the world is on the eve of an unprecedented deluge of gold." Mr. Nicholas says: "It is believed by many economists that the world's production of gold during 1905 will amount to more than four hundred million dollars, and that within two or three years the annual production will exceed five hundred million."

Pointing out that during the first five years of the present century the gold production will have amounted to $1,600,000,000 Mr. Nicholas says: "The world-wide economic significance of this unprecedented gold production can be best appreciated when it is recalled that the total production of gold during the sixteenth century was only $520,000,000; the production during the seventeenth century being $628,000,000 and the production during the eighteenth century being $1,308,000,000." He adds:

> "To say that the production of gold since the opening of the twentieth century has been unprecedented is putting it mildly. The output for many years to come promises to be at a rate greater even than during the last four years. One may well pause and ask what effect this deluge of gold will have upon the trade and commerce and industries of the world.
>
> "The parallel which immediately occurs to mind is that almost miraculous world-wide uplift which followed the discovery of gold in California in 1848. The enormous increase in the production of gold which followed gave an impetus to the industrial progress of the world which continued with little interruption until the close of the century."

It might be interesting to compare some of these candid statements with the editorials appearing in the same publications relating to the money question and denying the quantitative theory of money—editorials which were conspicuous during the campaign of 1896.

WHERE ARE THE PHRASE-MAKERS?

During political campaigns clever phrases have been used to such advantage that we have been told by some eminent politicians that in every national campaign the victory has been won by some concise phrase. For instance, in 1896 we became quite familiar with such phrases as "the maintenance of public integrity," or "the preservation of national honor," or "honest money," or "no fifty-cent dollars," or "a dollar good the world over."

At the beginning of the campaign of 1900 it was decreed by the skillful men in charge of the republican party that two of these phrases were sufficient, and so during that contest we became very familiar with the phrases, "Four years more of the full dinner pail," and "let well enough alone."

The phrase-makers in the republican party do not appear to be quite so active just now as they were during the campaigns of 1896 and 1900. It is difficult to understand why this is so, because in recent disclosures there is so much good material. There are among the disclosures before the insurance committee at New York, and in the developments consequent upon President's Roosevelt's active movement in behalf of a popular reform so many things that provide material for the phrase-maker that one is compelled to wonder why he is not doing business at the old stand. To be sure, there would be some difference between the phrases of 1905 and the phrases of 1896 and 1900.

Admitting, as we are bound to do, that the phrase-makers of 1896 and of 1900 were actuated by patriotic and intelligent motives, then we make take it for granted that if they were today engaged in their old-time task the results of their labors would be somewhat as follows:

Start the printing presses—the public can be induced to buy the stocks.

A sucker is born every minute and suckers were born to be worked.

Open the mills, the trusts will take care of themselves.

The stomach is a bigger target than the head—keep on talking about the full dinner pail.

One share of watered stock sold to the public beats two shares of watered stock in the promoter's safe.

Keep on relying on the cohesive power of public plunder.

What's the constitution that it should be allowed to prevent private gains at the expense of national traditions?

Vested rights confer the privilege of doing wrong.

It is cheaper to buy the laws you want than to give justice to the people.

A seat in the senate is better than two attorneys in court.

Give the Napoleons of finance their way and they'll make money enough to buy all the chloride of lime necessary to preserve the national honor.

Public office is a private graft.

Honest money is anything upon which a crook may lay his hands.

An honest dollar is the one you get.

The first duty of the defender of national honor is concern for his own pocketbook.

Anything goes if you are not found out.

No repudiation of the privileges of the few; the rights of the many are of no consequence.

Preserve the bold standard—that is the essential course for the highwayman.

A dollar must be good the world over so that the Depews, the Hydes et al. may refresh themselves at European watering places after their exacting toil in behalf of the widows and orphans.

No "fifty-cent dollars," but plenty of no-cent service.

Four years more of peculation and graft.

Of course, it is always difficult to improve upon the work of phrase-makers especially employed for the exigencies of a presidential campaign; but these may per-

haps provide a hint to the republican phrase-makers who, while conspicuous in 1896 and 1900, seem to have recently lost all interest in their art. The products of their facile pens were, however, so interesting that we have the right to insist that they be brought from their retreats and urged to give to the American people the benefits of their high-priced talents.

A VERY STRIKING SIMILARITY

The testimony of George W. Perkins, first vice-president of the New York Life Insurance Company, that that company contributed $48,000 to the republican campaign fund in 1904, and that it also made contributions in 1896 and 1900, shows in a striking way the discredit into which the democratic party has fallen among the business interests of the country.—*St. Louis Globe Democrat* (republican).

The testimony of "Mike the Bug," leader of the notorious gang of bank robbers recently captured by the police of Squareville, that the gang contributed large sums of money to defeat the city administration that retained the police force that was hunting the gang down, shows in a striking way the discredit into which an honest police force has fallen among the bank burglars of the country. — *Squareville Ball-Radical.*

"A PLAYED OUT OLD TUNE"

The following letter, which appeared in the *New York Herald's* Paris edition, December 28th, is interesting reading:

"To the Editor of the *Herald*:—

"I was very much amused to read in your paper the letter from Sir Howard Vincent complaining about the 'Star-Spangled Banner.'

"I am surprised, Sir, that a titled Englishman should not know that in America no one but our

tradespeople ever sings that horribly grotesque song. Our best class considers it inexpressibly vulgar.

"Let me assure Sir Howard that, except among very ordinary persons in America, the words of the song are not known. I daresay not one of my friends could repeat more than two lines of it from memory.

"Only those assertive, patriotic bourgeois persons in America who so justly excite the ridicule of Englishmen and travelled gentlemen of whatever nationality, rise and uncover when the national anthem is played. The cultured class does not even know any national anthem except 'My Country, 'tis of Thee,' which was so shamelessly stolen from Great Britain.

"Sir Howard can rest undisturbed in his very kind desire to promote Anglo-American amity. Our better classes are heartily ashamed of the anti-British sentiment expressed in the words of which he complains.

"CLARENCE ROSEBERY JONES."

In the "old days" when, as Minister Barrett said during the campaign, "the flag stood for nothing," the Star-Spangled Banner was considered quite a hymn, but now that the nation has become a "world power," and is associating with the land-grabbing nations of Europe, the sentiment may seem a little old fogy. But had we not better get back to the flag as it was, and be again "the land of the free, and the home of the brave?"

A "SPECIAL CABLE"

The *Philadelphia Press* of recent date contains the following "special cable":

"London, Jan. 22.—Consuelo, Duchess of Manchester, has just escaped serious illness, having contracted a chill in her left ear while motoring with the queen from Chatsworth to Welbeck. It was feared an abscess was forming, but this was absorbed and she is now convalescing, but is still weak. At Brighton she entertained the king at dinner the night

before her return from Chatsworth, but had to leave the bridge table owing to the agonies she suffered."

Just what this special cost is not known, but the readers of the *Press* ought to appreciate the enterprise of the *Press* in securing so promptly an account of this international incident. It is possible that some of the Philadelphia women had earache about the same time and many of them doubtless had backache caused by bending over washtubs or headache from overwork, but their names do not appear in the columns of the *Press*. Why this discrimination against home industry? Must one go motoring with a queen in Europe to attract attention in this country? Must one entertain a king at dinner in order to secure the right to have earaches in public? What a difference between high bridge and low bridge, even in democratic America.

WANTED—MORE DEMOCRATIC WEEKLIES

The weekly paper is the strength of the reform movement. It is in close touch with the people. Its editor is in daily contact with the rank and file and what he says has influence in proportion as he has character. We need more democratic weeklies—there ought to be one at every county seat. It does not require much time to prepare the necessary editorial matter and to select for reproduction such clippings as the editor desires to lay before his readers. Usually a well conducted weekly is more than self-supporting and some democrat ought to be found in each county willing to risk in such an enterprise the small capital required. Where such a person can not be found the democrats ought to join together and guarantee the amount necessary to meet any possible deficit. There can be found in every county seat some young lawyer, not yet overwhelmed with work, or some old lawyer retiring from the practice, or some business man with ready pen who can furnish editorials in case the publisher can not attend to both the business and the editorial department of such a paper.

The democrats of the country ought to address themselves with earnestness to the establishment of these papers and The Commoner will not only be glad to exchange with all democratic papers but it will give space for the free insertion of advertisements calling attention to newspaper men who are looking for a location or to localities which desire a democratic newspaper.

THERE IS A LAW

The *New York Press,* a republican paper, does not take kindly to "investigation" of the trusts, and insists that something more radical than "talk" is necessary if the people are to be given relief.

The *Press* says:

> "There is a law to punish the pickpocket who steals your purse. There is a law to punish the burglar who robs your house. There is a law to punish the starving man who grabs a loaf of bread. But there is no law to punish the trust criminal who robs you of your means of livelihood, who cuts your business out from under your feet, and who does it openly in the sight of men and laughs at you because you have no redress.
>
> "The Standard Oil prosecution by the department of justice will be worthless except to demonstrate that the penalty for trust criminality is inadequate and ineffectual, and that Standard Oil robbery can be stopped only by putting Standard Oil criminals in the same class as the law has put burglars and highway robbers."

But there is a law to punish the trust criminal.

The first and second sections of the Sherman anti-trust law are as follows:

> "Section 1. Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal.

Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

"Section 2. Every person who shall monopolize or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons, to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court."

Enforce the law.

ONE-SIDED CO-OPERATION

The Civic Association in sending out its literature says: "In these days of lurid literature and indiscriminate denunciation of corporations, the enclosures referring to the Standard Oil Company are worth reading by thoughtful men. But few persons appreciate that this is an age of organization, and that 'corporation' means 'co-operation.'"

It is easy to see from what standpoint the Civic Association views the trust question. It is not likely, however, to fool many people with the assertion that corporation means co-operation. Co-operation can not be properly used to describe a corporation. It is nothing but a vast partnership in which the business of the partnership is managed by a majority of the partners as measured by the amount of stock held.

In this case of the Standard Oil Company a few persons hold a controlling interest and run the Standard Oil Company according to their personal ambitions and desires. Even the interests of the minority stockholders are not always regarded by the managers of a corporation. Sometimes the managers move the stock up and

down for speculative purposes, and freeze out the small holders or cause them great loss. The employes of a corporation are not taken into consideration and the persons who buy the product are not consulted. It is certainly a false use of the term co-operation to apply it to a corporation which acts as taskmaster in the employment of thousands of laborers and then acts as an extortioner in dealing with the consumers.

The Civic Association is doubtless engaged in a labor of love in its efforts to defend the trusts, but it will find it impossible to secure a very widespread approval of its pleas in behalf of the very one-sided co-operation which the corporation—especially a trust corporation—presents.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS

Walter Williams, writing with the force and clearness characteristic of his utterances, has the following to say in the *Columbia* (Mo.) *Herald* on the railroad question:

> "The conservative who hesitates at having the government take decided steps toward regulation of railways may well ponder what refusal to take such steps would bring about. There are three possible results of the present railroad situation. The railroads may own the government, the government may own the railroads or the government may regulate the railroads. It may be assumed that the first possibility, while it may be claimed by the pessimist as most likely to occur, will not be satisfactory. It may, therefore, be dismissed from consideration. Only two possible results remain: Government ownership or government control. The timid individual who shirks from a struggle for government control will learn that government ownership is the only alternative. If he prefers to have the government own and operate the railways, well and good. He must not be frightened away from government control because it is too radical and not realize that it is the less radical than the only alternative remaining.

"The time has gone by, if it ever was, when public service corporations, created by the state and dependent upon the general public for existence, can conduct their own business independently of the interests of the public or without regard for public law. The creation of a public service corporation is that it may serve the public. The public which created it and endowed it with certain privileges for certain ends has moral and legal right to put such safeguards and regulations upon the business of the corporation as will make it best serve the end for which it was created. It might have been true in the elder Vanderbilt's day that the public could be damned but it is not true now. In all that relates to the public interests the public service corporation, particularly the railroad which is the largest and most important, is a proper subject of public control.

"Between government regulation and government ownership is a question of policy. Which is better from the standpoint of the public? The government may properly do either. If it can own and operate a postal system which carries small packages it can own and operate an express system which carries large packages. If it can own and care for dirt roads and gravel roads and turnpikes because the interest of the public is thus best subserved it can own and operate steam and electric roads for the same sound, economic reason. As to whether the interest of the public may be promoted by ownership better than by control is a matter for debate. As to whether the people, acting in their organized capacity as state or nation, can either own or control as they prefer is not a question for debate."

"THE POOR WERE RIGHT"

Thoughtful observers of present-day conditions may be interested in reading an extract from "The History of England from the year 1830 to the year 1870." The author of this work was William Nassau Molesworth, M. A., Vicar of Scotland, Rochdale. One portion of this

work is devoted to "The reception of the reform bill." A COMMONER reader asks that these extracts be reproduced:

"The plan thus brought forward was received by the radical party with delight, by the whigs with doubt, by the tories with terror. It surprised all; for though it did not come up to the wishes of the radicals—who desired the ballot, more frequent parliaments, and universal suffrage—it surpassed the expectations of all parties. By the great body of the people it was hailed with enthusiasm. From the moment of its first announcement they seemed to forget all the other measures which had been prayed for in their petition, and adopted the cry of 'The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill,' which they sustained under all the changes and vicissitudes it underwent, till it finally became the law of the land. On the other hand, the higher and better educated classes generally regarded the measure with great alarm, as the commencement of the overthrow of all the established institutions of the country. They had not forgotten that, under the first French revolution, the landed proprietors had been stripped of their property and driven into exile or put to death; and they dreaded that what they regarded as similar beginnings would lead to similar results.

"It may seem strange that a change, which all men now admit to have been a great and necessary improvement, should have been resisted by the wealthy and educated few, and carried mainly through the exertions of the poor and uneducated multitude; but there is really nothing very surprising in this circumstance. The same may be said of almost every great improvement that has been effected in this or any other country. The leaders of the movement have usually been men of rank and intelligence, and there have been found amongst their followers many men of liberal and highly cultivated minds—nay, sometimes, whole classes of such persons, on whom the existing abuses have pressed with unfair severity, may have joined them; yet as a general rule, the rank

and file of the army of progress has been composed of the classes which constitute the chief strength of the reform party. But perhaps this truth was never more strikingly exemplified than in the instance now before us; for if we would put our hands on the men who brought the reform struggle to its triumphant conclusion, we must not seek them in the ministry, in the leading bankers, manufacturers, and tradesmen, who in various parts of the kingdom petitioned for reform, but in the London mob, in the two or three hundred thousand members of the Birmingham political union, in the determination of the great mass of the people in all parts of the kingdom, to march on London at the first signal given by their leaders; and if, on the other hand, we are asked to put our hands on the quarters from which the most formidable and pertinacious resistance to the bill proceed, we must fix on the court, the clergy, the two universities, the inns of court, and the other ancient seats of learning. The true explanation of this seeming paradox is, that in political questions the belly is generally much more logical than the head. They who are well off deprecate change, because, if it does not bring with it peril to their fortune and position, it at least renders necessary efforts for the preservation of the one or the other, and that often of a character to which they are unaccustomed, and which perhaps they are unable or unwilling to put forth. But truth and right must ultimately prevail. The resistance thus offered may indeed defer the dreaded change, but can not prevent its advent, and is certain to render it more violent when at last it does come. On the other hand, the very poor are the first to feel the evils which result from a vicious state of things, and their demand for the remedy is sure to cause its production, which they, guided by a blind but sure instinct, readily recognize and earnestly demand. And this is perhaps the true explanation of the old maxim, 'Vox populi, vox Dei;' a maxim which certainly rests on a foundation of facts very far from contemptible. It is not, of course, meant to be asserted that everything the people clamor for ought to be granted; but

it is a truth, confirmed in each case by the verdict of posterity, that they have almost invariably been right in their demands when they have generally and persistently supported any measure of alleged improvement. The opinion of the rabble, as they are sometimes called, is by no means to be despised; for it has been proved to be more correct than the judgment of men who have enjoyed a high reputation for statesmanship. Unquestionably, in the reform struggle the mob was right, and their learned, wealthy, and aristocratic opponents altogether mistaken."

DEMOCRACY'S APPEAL TO CULTURE

Speech of Mr. Bryan before the Alumni Association of Syracuse University. (Delivered at Hotel Astor, New York, January 27, 1905, Mr. Steven B. Ayres, presiding.)

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very glad to be here tonight—in fact I have lost no opportunity in recent years to make the acquaintance of the people of the east. Something that I said in 1896 was misconstrued, and I have often been reminded that I called this "The enemy's country." After looking at the returns no one can doubt that, in a certain sense, it might be properly so named—but I would not use any term that might seem to indicate that there is any part of this country in which I do not feel at home, or where any theory that I entertain can justly be considered an unfriendly one. I am especially glad to have a chance to speak on occasions of this kind, where those who are assembled may be said to represent the scholarship of a section of the country—the graduates of the great universities. I am not at all embarrassed by the fact that in so far as this university has denominational leanings it is Methodist. My mother was a Methodist at the time of my birth, though she afterwards joined the Baptist church with my father, and my wife was a Methodist at the time of our marriage, although she afterwards joined the Presbyterian church with me. As my father took one from the Methodist church, and I another, I even

things up now by attending a Methodist church with my whole family. I have been attending a little Methodist church near the farm for something like two years. I have thus been preparing myself to associate with the graduates of this college. I have not put great emphasis upon church lines, or church doctrines, for I am connected by ties of blood with several churches, and by ties of friendship with all the other churches. I find that I am recalling more and more frequently a story which I heard when I was a boy; it has really had a great deal of influence in shaping my views on church questions. It was in a southern Methodist church that I heard it. The minister said that there was a mill and that many people brought wheat to the mill by several roads. When they arrived with the wheat—some coming by one road and some by another—some over the hill and some along the stream—the miller never asked them by what road they came, but simply whether the wheat was good?

That was years ago, but I have thought of that story many, many times, and it has made me feel that if we are one in the essentials we can afford to be charitable towards each other in the non-essentials, and all the branches of the Christian church are one in the great fundamental principles of religion. I like some things about the Methodists; I like their friendliness—the manner in which they stop, when the sermon is over and the congregation dismissed, and shake hands and get acquainted with each other—I like that. And there is one thing about the Presbyterian church that I did not like, but I have had an explanation of it recently that makes me accept that; so I am in a very genial frame of mind so far as churches are concerned. The one thing that I did not like about the Presbyterian church was the doctrine of election. I have had a good deal of trouble with that—religiously, and otherwise—but I heard an explanation of the doctrine of election that has reconciled me to it, and in the hope that there may be some Presbyterians here who can be helped by it, I will tell you this story. Two colored preachers down in Georgia were discussing religion, as they are wont to do sometimes, and the Presbyterian brother was trying to per-

suade the Methodist, and the Methodist brother hung back on the doctrine of election. The Presbyterian brother said: "It's just this way—the voting is going on all the time; the Lord is voting for you and the devil is voting against you, and whichever way you vote, that's the way the election goes."

It is the best definition of the doctrine of election that I know of.

I am glad to have a chance to talk to you, who represent a great university; I have enjoyed meeting those who stand in positions of prominence in your university. I need not tell you that the name of your chancellor, Doctor Day, has been known to me, and that it is a great pleasure to make his personal acquaintance tonight.

I am here to speak to you, because I have something to say to you; I have a message that I want to bring to you, and I am very much more concerned about impressing the message upon you than I am about the language in which I shall present it. I am reminded of the difference which some one said existed between Demosthenes and Cicero. "When Cicero speaks," he said, "people say 'How well Cicero speaks,' but when Demosthenes speaks, they say, 'Let us go against Philip' " —the difference being that the one impressed himself upon his audience, and the other impressed his subject upon his audience. While I appreciate kindly feeling and expressions of confidence and respect, I am very much more anxious that I shall impress my theme upon you tonight, than that I shall impress myself—in fact, I am comparatively indifferent as to what you may think of me, if I can make you think of the subject to which I invite your attention. It is Democracy's appeal to culture. That is my theme; it is a great theme. I shall not attempt to exhaust it but will merely suggest some things that occur to me in connection with it. Let me first say that I do not speak of democracy in any partisan sense. I am not going to talk politics, although I was tempted to think of politics just once this evening as I looked at the moving pictures of the boat race, and I enjoyed them very much. We were told that one of the characteristics of your crew is that the men "recover quickly." I am satisfied that you have been wise enough to select

democrats for your oarsmen. I speak of democracy, not in the party sense, but in that broader sense in which democracy means the rule of the people. In every country, according to Jefferson, there is a democratic party; I care not what they may call it; it is a party that draws to itself those who believe in the people and trust the people. In this country, I am glad to say, there is no party large enough to contain all of the democratic spirit. We find its manifestations in all parties—in fact there never has been a crisis where this democratic spirit was appealed to but what we found that that spirit was too large to be condensed within the limits of any party. But I want to speak of democracy in even a larger way, and that is as the term describes—the people at work —the common people, if you will. And when I say "the common people" let no one think that I use the term as a term of reproach. The highest compliment ever paid to any class of people was paid to the common people—for does not the Bible say that when Christ was upon earth and preaching His doctrine of brotherly love—does not the Bible say that the common people heard Him gladly? What other class has ever been so dignified, so honored? Lincoln said that God must have loved the common people, because He made so many of them. The common people are very numerous, and the uncommon people are not nearly so important as they sometimes think they are. The common people of a nation are its strength; they produce the nation's wealth in time of peace; they are the ones who stand ready to sacrifice themselves for their country in time of war. The common people furnish the students for your colleges. From the ranks of the common people, too, all the occupations and professions of the city are recruited. I want to speak, just for a little while, of the appeal that the people make to culture. Let me suggest also that this word "culture" has too limited a definition. Sometimes we speak of culture as if it involved only refinement of manners and the training of the intellect. I want to speak of that broader culture which may be defined as the enlargement of man's capacity for service, accompanied by a willingness to employ that capacity to the full. It is a fault of the cultured people of this age,

and of every age, that they have not lived up to their opportunities. And lest you should think this is a western criticism let me read you what a great eastern orator once said. Wendell Phillips can not be accused of being a western man; he lived even farther east than you in New York; he lived in the very center of culture, in Boston, and in his address entitled "The Scholar in a Republic" he said: "Almost all the great truths relating to society were not the result of scholarly meditation, 'hiving up wisdom with each curious year,' but have been first heard in the solemn protest of martyred patriotism and the loud cries of crushed and starving labor. When common sense and the common people have stereotyped a principle into a statute, then book men come to explain how it was discovered and on what ground it rests. The world makes history, and scholars write it—one-half truly and the other half as their prejudices blur and distort it." Now, this is the opinion of one great eastern orator in regard to the products of the schools, and what he says is only too true. The scholar does not do his duty to the people today; he has not done his duty to the people in the past. I want to divide what I have to say tonight into three parts, and speak for a moment in regard to each. Democracy appeals to culture, first, for justice; second, for truthfulness, and third, for service. What do you find today? I have been deeply interested in the presentation of one phase of this subject by Professor Ross, of our Nebraska State University. In an address on "The Character of Modern Sin" he takes occasion to point out that while our educated and well-to-do people avoid the old-fashioned sins, such as burglary, assault and battery and murder upon the highway, they are guilty of modern sins that are no less injurious in their character, but sins which are committed without coming into close contact with their victims. Let me call attention to some of the forms of this sin. For instance, the adulteration of foods. Those who are guilty of the adulteration of foods are not only swindling, but they even endanger lives, and yet so great is this adulteration of food that it is an old story to tell you of the injury and injustice done in this way. Professor Ross spoke of an instance in Chicago where the board of health sent out a prescription to be filled at

a hundred drug stores. In a third of the cases the prescription filled contained not a single thing that was called for in the prescription. In about a third of the cases it contained a part of that which was called for, and only in a third of the cases was it filled properly. It is necessary to pass laws to prevent swindling, and the injury of the people by the adulteration of food. He also called attention to the loss of life that comes from the failure of corporations to use safety appliances. Is it not strange that a Christian man—an educated Christian man—can prefer a large dividend to the care of the lives of those who work for him? And yet I remember that one whole night was spent in congress to compel a vote upon a bill to require railroads to use safety appliances. Deaths were running into the thousands through this neglect, and yet the cost of equipping cars with a safe coupler was sufficient to stand in the way and make it necessary for the members of congress of this great nation to spend a whole night trying to compel the use of a device for the protection of the lives of railway employes. That is not an isolated case—you know that it is true that we have to have laws in regard to the inspection and care of mines and the employment of children under age. It is necessary for the government to step in and with the strong hand of the law prevent men from actually taking human life and from injuring generations to come because of the profit that can be secured from the working of children when they ought to be in school. This is one of the phases of modern sin. Another is in the enormous wrong that is done by commercial methods that are sometimes considered respectable. We find great swindling enterprises put upon the market. In this very city you are having an investigation that shows that an official of one of your great banks was connected with a syndicate that was burglarizing the public. What was the purpose of the "wash sales" of stock? To deceive the people into buying the stock in the belief that the stock was worth more than it was! Men engaged in these things—men whose minds are trained and who ought to understand moral principles as applied to business. Too often educated and cultured men are found increasing their dividends by methods that must be called criminal when measured by any moral law.

It is a common thing nowadays for those who control a corporation to pass dividends, to run down the price of stocks in order to secure more stock at a lower price, and sometimes the officials make more money speculating in the stock of their own concern than they make either in legitimate dividends or out of their salaries, and who are the victims? Largely the mass of the people who trust the great names in finance and are ready to invest their savings in stocks that can thus be manipulated by those who can corner and control the market. It seems to me that the people have a right to ask, especially of those who are cultured and educated, that they shall abstain from these indirect methods of wrong—from this criminality that can not be defended.

But the people, I think, have a right to appeal to the cultured for truthfulness. It is true today, as it has been in times past, that cultured men assume themselves superior because of their culture, and not satisfied with the advantage which this larger education gives them, they seem to begrudge the smaller advantages and pleasures of those less educated. President Wilson, of Princeton University, in his history with which you are doubtless familiar, thus describes Thomas Jefferson: "Mr. Jefferson was an interesting mixture of democrat, philosopher and politician. In taste and occupation and habit, he touched and was familiar with the life of the cultured and moneyed classes, the aristocracy of the young nation which constituted the federalist strength. In creed and principle he was the comrade of the work-fellow of the people." I commend Jefferson to the educated men of today. His culture connected him with the educated and the refined, and yet his creed and principles made him the comrade and work-fellow of the people. I am praying today that in our college communities we may raise up an increasing number of men who can be cultured without being weaned away from their sympathy with the common people. Why was Jefferson a comrade with the people? Because he believed in inalienable human rights; because he recognized that all were made in the image of the same God whose likeness he bore; because he wanted nothing for himself that he was not willing that they should also have. He had not one dollar in his purse that

had been secured by doing injustice to another man, and, therefore, he was not afraid to trust all he had to laws made by the people. If there are in this country today those who doubt the capacity of the people for self-government, you do not find them among the common people —you find them among the cultured. If there are those who are not willing that the people shall govern themselves you will find them not among the masses—but among the cultured. When Jefferson made himself immortal by the declaration of these truths of human brotherhood applied to government, he was not popular among the cultured. Jackson, when he thundered forth the same doctrine, was not popular among the cultured. Even Lincoln, when he dared to say that he did not have a political principle that he had not drawn from the Declaration of Independence, was not popular among the cultured. Those who have been pleading the cause of the people have not received as kindly hearing among the cultured as they have among the poor. Why is it? It ought not to be. It seems to me that if those who are cultured appreciated as they ought the obligation which their culture imposes they would be brought into closer touch with those who need their help, but they too often libel the plain people and criticise uncouth honesty more severely than they do polite rascality.

I suppose, however, that the greatest fault of the cultured is not that they do wrong knowingly, either directly or remotely—it is not that they have a contempt for the rights of the masses—it is not that they distrust them—that is not the greatest or the severest indictment that can be brought against them; I believe that their greatest fault today is that they stand idle in the vineyard and do not employ in helpful service the power that they possess. There never was a day when service was more needed than today. If I had my choice of all the ages of the world in which to live, I would rather live today. No age in the past has furnished the opportunity for usefulness that this age does. A man who desires to use a thorough education for a great purpose has a larger opportunity today than any one before him ever had. The manner in which the news is today conveyed from one quarter of the world to another makes it possible for good to be multiplied

more rapidly than ever before. The electric current and the printing press—these have brought all parts of the earth close together, and what is done well anywhere is soon known everywhere. And yet today many of the educated people of this country seem indifferent in the presence of the greatest problems that ever pressed upon this country for solution. It ought not to be so. And why is it so? I believe it is because our colleges have relatively given too much attention to the mind, and not enough attention to the heart. It is because they do not understand that a man simply equipped with a great mind, without a noble purpose behind it, goes forth an injury to society, rather than a blessing. It were better that our institutions of learning were closed; it were better that our boys and girls were unable to read and write than that they should be sent forth with the idea that their greatness is to be measured by the amount of money they can quickly accumulate, regardless of the means by which they gathered it together. The Syracuse University is a Christian institution, and I believe today that we need to have the fundamental principles of Christianity impressed upon those who are going out as our educated and cultured men and women. The Bible definition of greatness is the only true one, and that is service. When they inquired of the Master who would be greatest among the disciples, He replied: "Let him who would be chiefest among you be the servant of all." That is the definition of greatness; it always has been true, it is true today, it always will be true, that he is greatest who does the most of good. Are our cultured people aiming at this kind of greatness? Are they devoting themselves to great causes? Some of them travel abroad—do they bring home suggestions to make our own government better? Some of them travel over this country and come into contact with people of all sections, but what are they doing to bring the classes of society together and to solve the great question that we must meet—the question between the rich and the poor? I have sometimes been accused of arraying class against class. The man who accuses me of it has never read my speeches. I have never intentionally—and I think I can even say I never have unintentionally—said anything that could be properly

construed as an attempt to array class against class. I have read many descriptions of Heaven, but I have never yet read a description of Heaven where there were two—one for the rich and one for the poor. If the rich and poor must live together forever in one Heaven hereafter, can not we do something towards getting them acquainted here, so that they will not have to be introduced when they reach the other side? What are we doing to solve this question? I believe that Tolstoy is right when he says that the great trouble today—a trouble that manifests itself in all these questions—is the lack of sympathy between man and man. For twenty-nine years, clad in the garb of a peasant and living the simple life of a peasant, he has been preaching out unto all the world a philosophy that rests upon the doctrine "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself."

The scholar must be something more than a mental machine; he must be something more than an expert calculator; he must be something more than a shrewd and successful business man. I think sometimes we are inclined to bestow upon a cultured man the admiration that we bestow upon a statue. The sculptor takes a flawless piece of marble, and after a while he makes it stand forth in human form. Sometimes it surpasses in grace any one in life; sometimes in beauty, it goes beyond anything that we can expect to see, and yet it is but stone. The foot can run upon no errand of mercy—the hand can not be stretched forth to one in distress, and there is within it no conscience to direct. There is an infinite space between the most perfect statue and a human being, aflame with what the poet has described as "the passion of eternity." Man is the miracle of miracles. What unfathomed possibilities are wrapped within the swaddling clothes that enfold an infant! Who can measure a child's influence for weal or woe? Before it can lisp a word, it has brought to one woman the sweet consciousness of motherhood, and it has given to one man the added strength that comes with a sense of responsibility. Before its tiny hands can lift a feather's weight, they have drawn two hearts closer together and its innocent prattle echoes through two lives. Every day that child in its growth touches and changes

someone; not a year in all its history but that it leaves an impress upon the race. Its smiles, its tears, its joys, its sorrows—all are garnered up, and when that child reaches the age of fifteen or sixteen and the parents send it to college they entrust this priceless creature to the care of teachers. What do you do with it? How do you deal with it? Train it in the sciences? Train it in the languages? It is not sufficient that the child shall know how old the earth is, how far the stars are apart, or the forces that attract or repel each other. There is something more important to that child than any or all of these—it is to know how to live, and how can that child know how to live unless it knows that it is linked by indissoluble ties to every other human being? Great is the responsibility of the college! The college ought to send forth, not simply scholars, but men and women prepared to do great work. If a man standing upon an eminence sees danger afar, you condemn him if he does not warn those in the valley of the danger's approach. Are the scholars of this land standing upon eminences, watching and warning their fellows? I fear that too many of them are satisfied to simply enjoy life—satisfied simply to accumulate, regarding their education as a private possession that they can use as they please. I must learn again my religion—whether it be Methodist or Presbyterian, or taught in any other church—before I can accept this doctrine in regard to man. I am here tonight, a stranger to most of you; few of you have I ever seen before. I, like you, am a private citizen—like you I am interested in society's welfare and development. I came from a little college, one of the little colleges of Illinois with only a hundred or so students. You represent a great university. I am glad to have these colleges, large and small. The large college furnishes some advantages that the small college can not give; the small college furnishes some advantages that the large college can not give; but, my friends, whether we come from large colleges or from small colleges, we come with the same measure of responsibility. God requires much of those to whom much is given, and if our education has made us stronger, we hold that strength as trustees for those who are weaker. If our shoulders are broader, we must put those shoulders

under heavier loads. The culture of this country is not doing its duty today. But, if I speak thus in a tone that might seem the tone of discouragement, let me tell you that I am not at all pessimistic. I think I can see evidence of improvement; the tide which has been running in favor of great combinations of wealth, that have sometimes overstepped the bounds, is beginning to turn. Sometimes good men and good women, holding stock in lawless enterprises, have not understood their own responsibilities or their partnership in the wrong-doing. We have heard men crying out against the little gambling house run on an alley, while they have been silent in regard to the great gambling houses that are run in your market places. We have been too much in the habit of finding fault with the fellow who sells his vote for five dollars and overlooking the man who puts up $5,000 or $50,000 to buy the votes of a thousand or ten thousand men at five dollars apiece! I think I see signs of an awakening, not in my party alone, but in the republican party as well. I was in Indiana the other day and I found that the retiring republican governor had called attention to the corruption in his state. The incoming democratic governor in Colorado did the same. The president is leading a forward movement and the magazines are exposing the schemes and methods of those who prey upon society. I find here and there indications of an awakening of the civic conscience, and I believe the time is coming when the cultured people of this country will arouse to their duty, and throw their mighty influence upon the side of pure government and more just conditions. It is because I am anxious that that time shall come, that I am here to meet the representatives of this great institution and to bring this message. I do not address myself primarily to your heads, for it is a poor head that can not find a reason for doing what the heart wants to do. I desire rather to speak to your hearts. The Bible says: "As a man thinketh in his heart, so he is." I want you to ask yourselves whether there is any other measure of your responsibility and mine than the measure which we find in Holy Writ—a measure which makes us not only serve, but serve to the extent that we have power and opportunity. Pardon me if I have spoken earnestly; it is a subject that demands

earnest consideration, and I feel so deeply upon this subject that I appreciate the kindness of those who have furnished me an opportunity to meet you face to face.

Verses on Timely Topics

(The following topical verses were written by Mr. Will M. Maupin, of THE COMMONER staff, during the days when the subjects referred to were being most discussed:)

A LITTLE FAMILY MATTER

O, tell me, Pa McCurdy, are there any more at home like these?
Any other sons or daughters, sons-in-law or cousins, please?
I really want to know, you know—my premium now is due—
O, tell me, Pa McCurdy, are there any more depending on you?
Your son has made a million,
And your son-in-law has, too—
O, tell me, Pa McCurdy,
Are we still in debt to you?
Answer quickly, Pa McCurdy—we are "mutually" in doubt—
Any other "poor relations?" Has our policy run out?

O, tell me, Pa McCurdy, are there any not yet on your roll?
Any others in your family pouring premiums in a hole?
Have you any aunts or uncles who have failed to make a touch?
O, tell me, Pa McCurdy, are there very many more of such?
'Tis but a family matter
But an answer is my due—
O, tell me, Pa McCurdy,
Any more at home like you?
Answer quickly, Pa McCurdy—we are "mutually" in doubt—
Any other "poor relations?" Has our policy run out?

O, tell me, Pa McCurdy, does your salary meet all desire?
If not, remember, papa, tell us just what you require.
If you have more relations do not hesitate, I pray,
But get 'em on the payroll quick—you should not long delay.
The men who pay the premiums
Meet them promptly when they're due,
They know well, Pa McCurdy,
There are more at home like you.
Answer quickly, Pa McCurdy—we are "mutually" in doubt—
Any other "poor relations?" Has our policy run out?

AN INSIDE VIEW OF SOME PRETENTIOUS MEN

When but a very little boy I had a little drum,
And oft I wondered to myself from whence such music come,
"Methinks," says I, "there surely is some wondrous works inside."
And so I got my hammer out and in that drum I pried.
Alas! I only ruined the drum and won a load of woe—
Now, honestly, my friends, have you not often found it so?
You see a man who poses great and struts the streets around.
But when you get a closer view you find him empty sound.

I had a little dolly once—'twas early childhood's day—
And with that little dolly I loved oft to sit and play.
"Methinks," said I, "this doll's insides some wondrous things contain."—
I opened it—alas! I found sawdust for heart and brain.
A hollow mockery it was—my heart was grieved and sore,
But since that time the sawdust side has shown up more and more.
I've seen some men the world called great until an inside view
Showed only sawdust. Hasn't it, good friends, occurred to you?

I think 'twas eighteen ninety-six some captains of finance
Stood up before the public gaze and never lost a chance
To talk about the honor of our nation strong and great
And say upon their shoulders broad they bore the country's fate.
They posed as saviours of the state and with glib pen and tongue
On "honesty" and such like words a thousand changes rung.
But since that time we've looked inside and found nought else but craft—
They were not filled with honesty, but with sawdust of graft.

My drum gave forth a noisy sound—but it was empty quite.
My doll was plump, and pretty too—'twas sawdust met my sight.
I heard the Chauncey M. Depews, McCurdys and McCalls
Stand forth to shout their honesty upon the outer walls.
And for a time I really thought they were the nation's pride—
Alas! I found but empty sound and raw sawdust inside.
And human drums of hollow sound, and sawdust dollies, too,
Are being opened day by day—and we don't like the view.

PUT IT BACK!

They made some red-hot "hollers" in regard to "honest dollars,"
Did Fairbanks, Bliss and Chairman Cortelyou.
In the language deep of scholars they stood up and wilted collars,
And the moral fits they threw us were not few.
They made lengthy talks on morals and of honesty they cried;
At the thought of "rotten money" they almost laid down and died;
But they took it in huge bundles from McCall and "Jimmie" Hyde,—
Do you think they'll put it back? Now answer true.

They talked of "nation's credit"—sakes alive, how oft they said it!
The thought of hurting it their hearts did rack,
But a trust—how quick they led it to their treasury and bled it
For a bunch of boodle for their party sack.
Spouting "honesty" and "morals" till they grew red in the face
They declared "dishonest dollars" would bring on us deep disgrace;
But in view of what's developed in that life insurance case
Don't you think they'd better haste to "put it back?"

They said "repudiation" was confronting our great nation,
And they managed to build up a noisy claque.
In the greatest agitation and with much tergiversation
They declared that ruin threatened deep and black.
But while posing meek and pious they took money stolen by
Men who in the world of finance occupied positions high,
Don't you think if they are honest as their campaign words imply
That they'll hustle up the coin and "put it back?"

Can a crook be honest? Answer! Make reply now if you can, sir.
Can a man be honest when in morals slack?
Can a rotten, crooked plan, sir, be condoned by honest man, sir?
Answer, Cortelyou; they've got you on the rack.
Talking loud of "honest money" and of "morals" all the while
You took money from big crooks, sir, who have Satan beat a mile.
And the people at your pretense will just sit around and smile
Till you hustle up the coin and "put it back."

VALIANT DEFENDERS OF NATIONAL HONOR

"We must guard the nation's honor when assailed by any foe,
We must keep it safe whatever ill befall;
We must use our best endeavor to preserve it clean forever,"
Said Depew, Hyde, Alexander and McCall.
So with tears their eyes bedimming and their honest hearts aglow
For the widows and orphans in their care,
They gave forth the declaration they would save their well loved nation—
But you see they didn't do things on the square.

For the widows and orphans they made many touching pleas,
Saying "hands off; we will guard them day and night!"
But a search is now revealing some gigantic games of stealing
By these trusted devotees of truth and right.
While of honor and of widows and of orphans they did talk
It transpires they worked with crooked turns and twists.
And while "honor" safely guarding their own pockets were rewarding,
Shoving hands into trust money past the wrists.

"Do not sully our fair credit by repudiation's route!
Do not let the nation's honor be debased,"
Cried this precious lot of hooters who of trust funds were the looters,
"We must never let our nation be disgraced."
How they talked of "honest money," how of "honor" they did cry,
But remembered dirty schemes they worked the while.
For corrupt and rotten revel this gang seems to have the devil
Beaten several furlongs in a single mile.

What a precious lot who guarded our great nation from all harm!
A sweet-scented bunch of grafters, to be sure,
Rotten stocks were syndicated, rotten bond deals well inflated,
By these men whose motives were so clean and pure.
Judges bought and sold like cattle, legislatures were debauched,
Loot and graft and dirty deals on every hand.
And it must not be forgotten that these men with schemes so rotten
Are the men who posed as saviours of the land.

Nerve sublime and cheek gigantic had this bunch who stood on guard
Over "widows," "orphans," "honor," night and day,
Shouting "honor," "honest money,"—don't it now seem awful funny
When you learn the crooked schemes the bunch did play?
Satan standing forth rebuking those who weakly yield to sin
Cuts a better figure than these posing patriots do,
And the next time we seek defenders we'll not choose such double-enders
As McCall, Hyde, Alexander and Depew.

BALLAD OF THE PROFESSIONAL PATRIOT

He posed as one who loved the flag with patriotic zeal,
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.
He loved to prate of interests he had in public weal,
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.

He spouted during campaign times of "honor" and of "right;"

The "national integrity" he treasured day and night;
"Sound money" was his shibboleth, "protection" his delight,
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.
He spoke at many banquets and he gave his speeches spice,
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.
He drew a sanctimonious smile and spouted good advice,
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.
With tearful eyes he moaned because the world was full of guile;
He had a holy horror for transactions dark and vile;
To hear him speak you'd never think with wrong he'd reconcile,
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.

He sat within the senate with a very solemn mien,
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.
He talked of honest politics—and bossed a big machine—
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.
He drew a handsome salary—some sixty plunks a day—
And borrowed on some worthless junk in systematic way;
Then said it hurt when pople said he didn't earn his pay,
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.

He claimed to be beyond compare a patriotic man,
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.
To hear him talk you'd think he'd put all scheming under ban.
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.
For hours he could stand and spout about the golden rule;
He'd shine with quite an unctuous glow before a Sunday school;
And then he'd give huge chunks of cash the people to befool,
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.

He talked of love he always bore his fellows in distress,
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.
He talked of honest judges and a fearless public press,
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.
He gave the judges passes, and the legislators too;
The big page ads for papers were quite numerous to view,
His Christian zeal was always bubbling up and welling through,
But his craft
And his graft
Were immense.

He worked his huge financial schemes to gather golden pelf,
For his craft
And his graft
Were immense.

He prated of his virtue till he fair deceived himself,
With his craft
And his graft
So immense.
But it's dollars big to doughnuts when he reaches Peter's gate
He will find that more than dollars are required to pay the freight,
And he'll learn his money's useless to preserve him from his fate,
For his craft
And his graft
Will not work.

DEATH OF THE FLOWERS

(With Proper Apologies to the Memory of William Cullen Bryant.)

The melancholy days are come, the saddest of them all,
Of frenzied finance, exposed graft, and schemes foredoomed to fall.
Heaped on the curbs of Wall and Broad, where once the lambs did play,
The forms of "captains of finance" lie in grand disarray.
The "suckers" from these haunts have flown, and gone the "easy jay."
And Trinity's deep, booming chimes sound through the gloomy day.

Where are the flowers, the fair young flowers, that once did here abide—
Schwab, Alexander and Depew and eke the sporty Hyde?
Alas! all wilted now they lie, a bunch of faded flowers
That have been plucked and thrown aside, the prey of vaster powers.
The slush is dirty where they lie, and gone their fragrant bloom,
And none is left to shed a tear above their slushy tomb.

The steel-flower and the peach's bloom, they perished long ago;
The cereus, night-blooming Hyde, has lost its waxen glow;
And on the curb the others lie, exposed to sneers and jeers,
While not a withered petal is refreshed by falling tears.
As fell the frost from the cold clear sky, so fell the wrath of man,
And they who were once great and strong are now the "also ran."

And when I gaze upon them now don't think I wail and screech
For Alexander, Schwab, or Hyde, or eke for "Chaunce the Peach."
We'll lay them in the warm, moist earth for all of future time,
And o'er their mounds we'll thickly strew deodorizing lime.
'Tis not unmeet that they should fade—they never should have bloomed—
And not a tear will drop above the "flowers" thus entombed.

PEACE

Hushed is the noise of battle, the cannons' roar is stilled;
Furled is the flag of carnage—the world with peace is filled.

And over the plain and mountain
Where lieth the sleeping dead,
The Angel of Peace now hovers,
Her snow-white wings outspread.
And forth from the earth there springeth
The blades of the waving grain
To nod to the welcome harvest
O'er graves of the battle slain.

And, joyful, the nations gather, and man on the harvest looks,
For swords are beaten to plowshares, and spears into pruning hooks.

Stilled is the tread of armies armed for the deadly fray,
And birds build nests in the cannons that belched death yesterday.
For men in the heat of passion
Gave heed to the voice of peace,
And sitting 'neath branch of olive
Have ordered that war shall cease.
The wives and children singing
Now welcome the warriors home,
And laughter and joy are flinging
Their echoes to heaven's dome.
And joy is the lot of nations as each on the grand scene looks,
For swords are beaten to plowshares, and spears into pruning hooks.

Gone are the hates of passion, tumult and striving ceased.
And man made in God's own image from the blood-lust stands released.
The shock of contending armies
Gives way to the harvest song;
And Right, with a palm branch waving,
Is the victor over Wrong.
The roar and the crash of battles,
The moans of the dying cease;
And over the plain and the mountain
Is the clear sunlight of peace.
The husband returns to the fireside, on the faces of loved ones looks,
For swords are beaten to plowshares, and spears into pruning hooks.

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